THE UPWARD PATH

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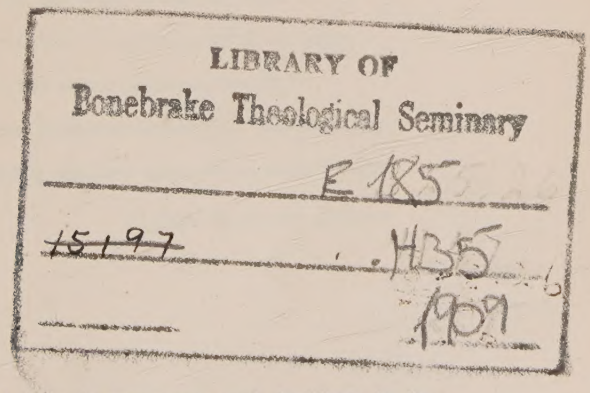
FORWARD MISSION STUDY COURSES

EDITED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
YOUNG PEOPLE'S MISSIONARY MOVEMENT OF THE
UNITED STATES AND CANADA

THE UPWARD PATH:
THE EVOLUTION OF A RACE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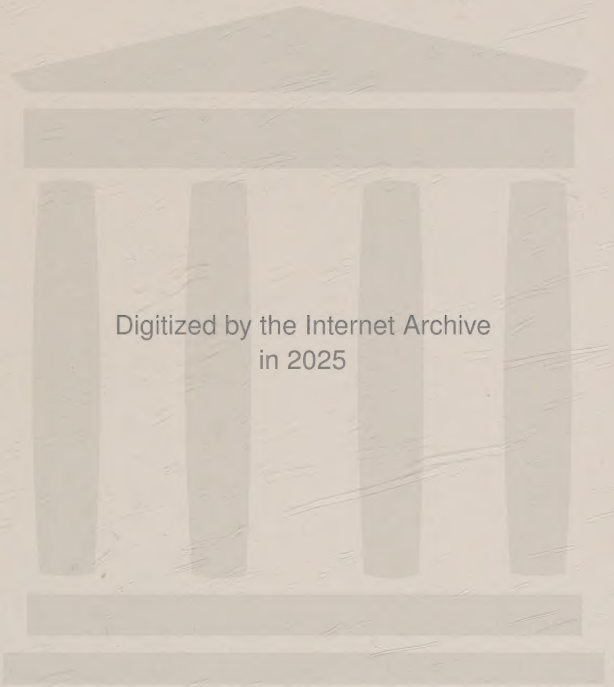
SLOW THROUGH THE DARK

Slow moves the pageant of a climbing race;
Their footsteps drag far, far below the height,
And, unprevailing by their utmost might,
Seem faltering downward from each won place.
No strange, swift-sprung exception we; we trace
A devious way thro' dim, uncertain light—
Our hope, through the long vistaed years, a sight
Of that our Captain's soul sees face to face.
Who, faithless, faltering that the road is steep,
Now raiseth up his drear insistent cry?
Who stoppeth here to spend a while in sleep,
Or curses that the storm obscures the sky?
Heed not the darkness round you, dull and deep;
The clouds grown thickest when the summit's high.

—*Paul Lawrence Dunbar*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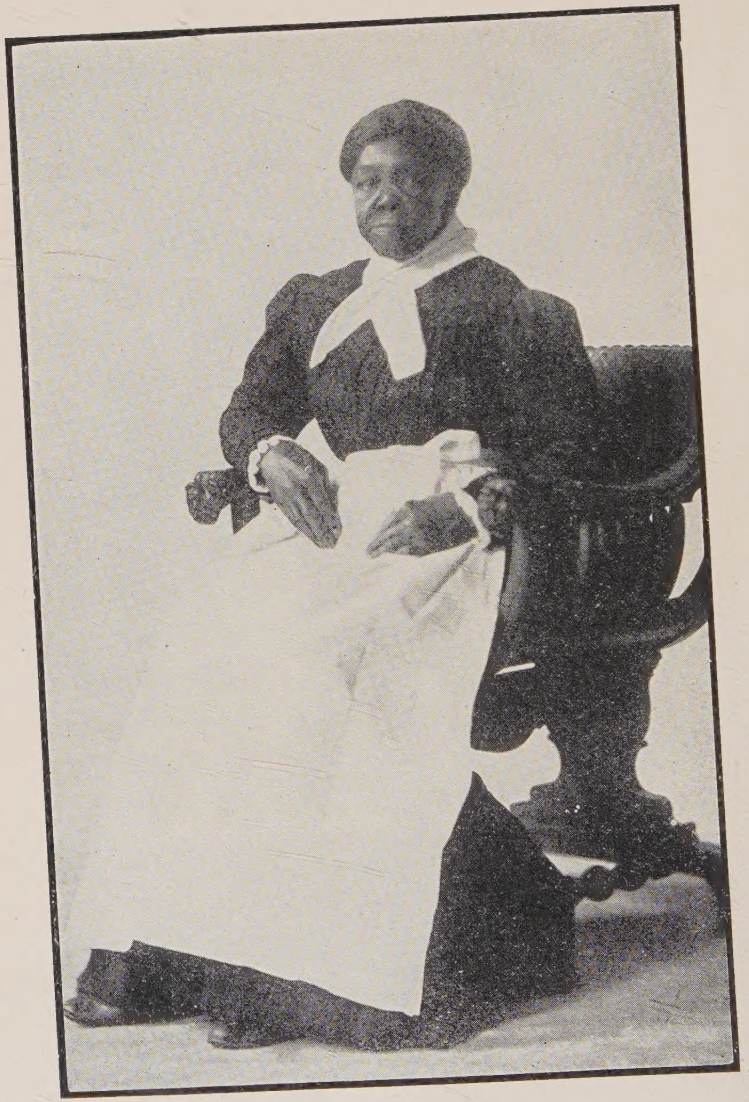

"AUNT GILLY"

She has lived to the age of eighty-six honored and respected by all who know her, and greatly beloved by her nurslings

THE UPWARD PATH:

THE EVOLUTION OF A RACE

BY

MARY HELM

NEW YORK: Eaton & Mains
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Young People's Missionary Movement
of the United States and Canada

To

MY FAITHFUL OLD NURSE

"AUNT GILLY"

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

WITH TENDER LOVE

AND GRATEFUL MEMORIES

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INTRODUCTION

The longest distance ever traveled by a race in just three hundred years was from Jungle in Africa to Highway in American civilization. The American Negro has made that journey. Whatever remains unattained and difficult, whatever the remaining gap from the front rank as races stand at the opening of the twentieth century, that fact is unchallengeable, that distinction for the Negro is secure.

It has been a peculiar pilgrimage, the strangest in the annals of history. It can scarcely be reckoned a pilgrimage as we are used to speak of other great human movements outward and upward. Stage by stage from tribal slavery in Africa, to commercial bondage in the slave-ships, to the feudal serfdom of the South, and then to sudden emancipation, and then to a dazzling day of citizenship in a republic, the Negro came, always thrust on by forces he did not originate and over which he had no control.

The author of this book has keenly discerned the significance of this important fact at the outset in the statement that "the Negro in America has through a new environment escaped many retarding conditions and has passed with unnatural rapidity through processes of evolution."

One may question if the three hundred years of such swift and unanticipated changes, and so marked by dramatic pressures, does not place the Negro's progress outside the category of evolution entirely. Environment is the word that explains what we see, and providence is the only word that indicates the inscrutable forces at work back of it all.

To some sympathetic students the fact that the Negro's progress has come to him so largely without his own initiative has not been regarded as a hopeful feature of his history. This is, however, to be said. Although no driving impulse of discontent or aspiration from within sent him upon his remarkable adventure of progress, yet at each pause of the advance the Negro race has shown an inward capacity for grasping the gain tenaciously. So if the race may not be accredited with pioneering

power, the power of response to advantage and the passion for holding on to it may suggest a compensation for the apparent absence of initiative capacity.

Those who read, and especially those who study, this book will not miss the one truth above all others to be kept clear by American Christians—namely, that the presence of ten million Negroes in this country is not primarily a Southern problem nor even a national problem which puts our political institutions to the test. It is profoundly a missionary problem, and it puts our Christianity to the test. It is the Christian's gospel that is in the crucible.

Speaking as a Southern man, I have never dared to risk a Christianity or a faith of Christianity as trustworthy for myself or mine which doubted the efficiency of Christ for all the difficulties that have discouraged the philosophers in relation to the Negro.

The Christian " not only confronts sin and claims that it can be destroyed, and stands before sorrow and claims that it can be transfigured, *he stands amid the misunderstandings of men,* amid the per-

versions in the purposed order of life, the ugly twists that have been given to fellowship which were ordained to be beautiful and true, *and he proclaims their possible rectification in Christ.*"

To the end that we all stand at this angle of outlook, "and, having done all, to stand," may this book go forth.

JOHN E. WHITE.

Atlanta, Georgia.

PREFACE

MANY great interests with their problems have been presented in the study courses of the Young People's Missionary Movement, but none have exceeded in its importance to the nation the subject presented in this volume—the American Negro; yet the very naming of this subject makes apparent the difficulty of its presentation and of securing an impartial investigation by those who read. The author has endeavored to give a true history of the Negro's past, his progress and present condition, "without fear or favor" telling of his successes and failures; and now asks that the reader—North and South, white and black—will lift the bandage of prejudice from the eyes, unstop the ears closed by sectional animosity, and eliminate from the heart race bitterness, that the book may be dispassionately studied. Thus only can

the subject be viewed aright, past misunderstandings be corrected, and present conditions realized, in order to prepare for a future of vital importance to both races.

There is no more need of sentimentality and no more room for injustice in the study of this subject than in that of any other. There will be need possibly to face squarely some views, different from those accepted in the past; there will be need to forget some things that have been told of the past, and to remember some things that Christ says which there is danger of our forgetting, ere wise, righteous judgment can be exercised in dealing with the present need of the race that has dwelt for centuries like a native alien, "a stranger within our gates."

The Negro has been a valuable asset of the nation, yet a bone of contention, to the hurt of the nation. It is time for this unchristian contention to cease, it is time for the whole nation to unite in securing the good of its whole population—every part

for its own sake, every part in its relation to the whole. It is with this desire and purpose that the author has written this book and now presents it with the prayer that its simple, direct narrative may be blessed of God to the nation, and the Negro race that forms an integral part of the nation.

MARY HELM.

Helm Place,
Elizabethtown, Kentucky,
June 1, 1909.

EDITORIAL NOTE

THROUGH the courtesy of the Council of Women for Home Missions, Miss Mary Helm, the author, and the Fleming H. Revell Company, publishers, *The Upward Path* is placed before the public. The original text-book, written by the same author under the title of *From Darkness to Light,* has been revised to meet the needs of another class of students. *The Upward Path* contains eight chapters under new titles, but the changes and additions are not sufficiently extensive to distinguish it from the book, *From Darkness to Light,* except in form and illustrations.

IN THE AFRICAN JUNGLE

The African is Nature's spoiled child. Throughout much of his continent she is lavishly kind to him. She feeds him almost without the asking. She clothes him with tropical sunshine. If his necessity or his vanity calls for more covering, she furnishes it—again with no excess of labor on his part—from leaf or bark or skin. Everything that has to do with the primitive demands of his physical well-being is, as it were, ready at his hand. Intellectually, he is untrammelled by tradition or practice. He has kept himself free from educational entanglements. No a b c's, no puzzling multiplication tables, no grammatical rules, no toiling over copybooks, harass his brain. . . .

Aside from his wives and children, a man's household may include slaves. His wives not only may be his slaves, but all of his female slaves may be his concubines. . . . The freedom of a slave is not greatly restricted and it is possible for him to accumulate property of his own. But the utter disregard for human life in Pagan Africa makes the slave wholly dependent upon his master's caprice for his very existence. Punishment, as a matter of course, may be meted out to him at the slightest provocation. . . .

African Paganism or Fetichism is a religion of darkness. Its prayers are petitions for mercy and imprecations upon enemies, rather than praise and thanksgiving. Its gods are malignant. Love for them is unknown. Hope, in the Christian sense, an anchor to the soul both sure and steadfast, is foreign to pagan thought. The African conceives himself as beset behind and before, above and below, by innumerable ill-tempered spirits, all, with one accord, consciously and constantly attempting to frustrate his endeavors, and all seeking his injury and death. He thinks that deceased relatives covet his company in "Deadland," and for some time after death lurk about their old haunts with snares of disease and violence. —*Wilson S. Naylor*

I

IN THE AFRICAN JUNGLE

Three Questions

THERE are three great questions that claim attention, when considering the life and destiny of a man or a race: "Whence comes he?" "What is he?" "Whither goes he?" The first calls for a record of facts that must be set down truly and in proper sequence, with relation to that which is past and that which is to follow. It involves heredity, and his natural traits and tendencies; his ability to progress toward a higher state of development; his power to form a new environment, or properly to use the one in which circumstances have placed him. The second question deals with his present status, and sets in array the conditions that form and surround his life to-day, growing out of his use or abuse of those of yesterday—his achievements and his failures. The third is speculative, since the answer must be found in the future; yet it may be safely based on the character

and trend of the life that has been. No man's to-morrow is an entirely new creation, but a result of many yesterdays. The past, present, and future of a race present successive but continuous steps in its evolution.

Law of Progress

The universal law of evolution, that of progressive development from the lower condition to the higher, has made no exception of human life, and the history of man reveals his origin as very low in the scale of civilization. The Negro race, like other members of the human family, began in a condition of savagery. Owing to many contributing depressive causes, the large mass of the race in its native African jungle remains in its primitive state. The Negro in America has, through a new environment, escaped many retarding conditions, and has passed with unnatural rapidity through processes of evolution that have left the race as a whole far behind. This does not mean that he has lost race identity, but that race progress is possible.

A Study of Origin Necessary

While it is the Negro in America we are to study, we cannot understand our subject without knowing something of his origin

and ancestry in his native land, that we may understand the hereditary traits, and even beliefs, that influence the race as it is with us to-day in America.

Whence the Negro Came

The prehistoric Negro is supposed to have entered Africa from the northeast in a dwarfish type and using only the rudest stone implements. The big black Negro type developed in the Nile basin and spread due west. These two types were, so far as we know, the exclusive human inhabitants of the whole of Africa south of the Sahara Desert down to four hundred years ago, with the exception of Arab and Persian colonies, or the east coast seekers of gold, and those Galla herdsmen who invaded equatorial Africa and brought with them the first elements of Caucasian civilization to the black man.

Territory Occupied

The northern coast of Africa belonged to the white man with some admixture of the black. The eastern side became the domain of the mixed race which may be called the Ethiopian. Below the line of 18 degrees north latitude, right across Africa, the Negro country was almost entirely closed to intercourse

with the Caucasian. There they dwelt five hundred years ago in a condition of absolute brutishness.

Effect of Early European Conquest

Modern Africa may be said to have been rediscovered by the Portuguese five hundred years ago. Then came the Spaniards, followed by the Dutch, the British, and the French. All sought by conquest to gain dominion, power, and gold; all warred with each other; and all made captives of or destroyed the natives, whose low race status made them subservient to the dominant Caucasian without imbibing or developing any of the racial traits of their conquerors, save in a rude imitation of their customs and habits, often the worst. This seeming adoption disappeared when the outside compulsion was removed, because their distinctive racial characteristics were antagonistic to those of the white race. Individuals may be permanently affected by environment, but race heredity is found in the mass.

Negro Race Subdivisions

The Negro race had and has many subdivisions, nations, and tribes, differing as greatly from each other as the nations that go to make up the Cau-

casian race. We are versed in the characteristics that differentiate the peoples of Europe and their representatives coming to this land. We do not always consider this in dealing with the Negro subject, and do not realize how complicated is the study.

Dowd's Five Divisions

Dowd in his valuable work, *The Negro Races: A Sociological Study,* while using the word Negro as "a general term to include more or less black skin and woolly hair," makes five subdivisions of the Negro type: "First, the Negritos, including the dwarf races of the equatorial region, the Bushmen of the Kalahari desert, and the Hottentots of the southern steppe. . . .

"Second, the Nigritians, including all of the natives with dark skin and woolly hair occupying the territory of the Sudan. . . .

"Third, the Fellatahs, a race supposed to have sprung from crossings of the Berbers of the desert with the Nigritians of the Sudan.

"Fourth, the Bantus, . . . occupying almost all of West Africa below the Sudan. . . .

"Fifth, the Gallas, including all of the lighter-colored people of East Africa from the Galla country to the Zambezi River."[1]

Tribal Differences and Resemblances

These five divisions he subdivides into many tribes, having marked differences in their political, social, and industrial conditions and habits, and in their religious beliefs, or rather superstitions. In all, however, there are fundamental resemblances. In all are to be found polygamy, slavery, witchcraft and their resultant evils.

Unlike Characteristics

Mr. Smythe, minister from the United States to Liberia and a native-born African, says that he had knowledge of two hundred tribes on the west coast alone, and describes them as more unlike in their characteristics than French and Germans. This difference is manifested in color, features, intelligence, and possibility for acquiring the arts of civilization.

American Negroes Chiefly Bantus

The Negroes in the United States came originally, to a large degree, from the western coast—the Bantus. Among them were representatives of many tribes, and

[1] *The Negro Races*, xi, xii.

the differences that existed in Africa are still to be noted in their descendants by those who study them closely.

A Study of West Coast Africans

Notwithstanding the efforts to gain a foothold in Africa by the nations mentioned, at the beginning of the nineteenth century the continent of Africa was practically unknown to Europe, save the fringes of it. Possibly the best study of conditions of the native African can be made on the west coast, where there was originally the least contact and intermixture with the white race, and yet later a larger knowledge of them by the whites. Much that follows will have special reference to those on the west coast.

Fundamental Race Traits

While there was and is a marked difference between the great divisions of the African race, both in physical appearance and in many characteristics, and we find as varied customs and manner of life as there are tribes, yet there are fundamental traits belonging to the race that can be seen in all. There are different types, to a large extent due to the modifying effects of climate and contact with other peoples, but as there is a color-line

"between the Negro or black race" and the white Caucasian, or yellow Mongolian, so there are mental race traits that make as clear a demarcation between these great races and differentiate them to an even greater degree. The pigment under the Negro's skin and his kinky hair do not constitute the chief difference between him and the straight-haired white man.

Emotional, Impulsive, Imaginative

Under some conditions the Negro may be warlike and fierce, under others he may be gentle and indolent; but he is always emotional and lacking in self-restraint, easily excited either to anger or laughter. Impulsive, illogical, he is easily influenced by that which appeals to his feelings, good or bad. His physical senses are acute and dominate his being even where there is knowledge of moral laws that should restrain the appetites or desires aroused by them. The desire to possess what pleases the eye or taste leads to theft. He is imaginative without being inventive, and is therefore a romancist rather than an inventor, and this power makes him an inimitable story-teller, or a liar that stops at no exaggeration.

He is a child of nature, but has more

West Africa Village

Typical Group of West Africa Natives

fear of than love for his mother. He does not look with pleasure upon the broad landscape, but studies minutely the animal and vegetable life around him, and possesses himself of nature's secrets, not with any innate love of science, but for his personal gratification. His mind is objective, and his life is a day-by-day existence that left to itself takes no forward step, and generation after generation remains the same. His vanity and love of show and ostentation is inordinate, at times ludicrous in its physical expression, and renders him sensitive to any lack of appreciation. He is an optimist that has no care for the morrow and its needs; this may make him lazy or improvident, or give him absolute faith in the providence of God if he becomes a Christian. He loves fun and frolic, dancing and music, and this last tendency becomes the favorite expression of his emotions and has a marked race character.

Inclined to Outward Show, Improvidence Pleasure

It is impossible to give in detail the traits and characteristics of a race or people that will seem altogether correct, because of the many individual exceptions, class modifications, and local surroundings.

Only Broad Characteristics Can be Given

But there are a few traits so marked that they cannot avoid observation and which adhere to the subconscious life of the race as a tendency that finds expression as varied as the circumstances surrounding the individual, and may result in a surprising reversion to type.

Little Government or Forms of Justice

A king or chief in western Africa has little power beyond that of declaring and waging war, deciding palavers according to the unwritten law of custom, and inflicting the punishment due. He has no rights over the property of others nor powers of taxation. There are no higher state forms as in civilized lands. There is no judicial system. Rules are handed down as tradition, by word of mouth. Capital punishment is executed by the accuser in various modes, formerly by burning, torturing, and amputation by piecemeal. Blood atonement is everywhere practised, and it is a duty devolving upon the blood relatives. "Each family is held responsible for the misdeeds of its members. However unworthy a man may be, his people are to stand by him, defend him, and even claim as right his acts, however unjust. He may demand their help, how-

ever guilty he may be."[1] A stranger is entertained hospitably, and must be protected by the village as long as he is their guest, even though he be a criminal.

Slavery

Negroes themselves originated the slavery of one another. Before the slave-trade brought to the outside world a larger knowledge of them, they held one another in bondage, as they do to-day. Slaves are the spoils of war, or reprisals for personal injuries; they are used to pay debts, even to the extent of the debtor giving his own wife and children. The character of slavery varies in different sections from extreme mildness to great severity, but everywhere is of the lowest grade in morals. Labor is intermittent, and the slaves, like their masters, are lazy and thriftless. They are used, however, in hunting and fishing and as soldiers, especially in the slave-stealing raids on other tribes.

No Family Life

While tribal life is strong, family life scarcely exists as we regard it. There is no gathering around the table or the hearthstone; "naked children snatch a

[1] Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, 4. This feeling in the American Negro to-day renders it difficult to detect crime and punish criminals.

handful of food and lie down to eat and sleep like little cubs." If the family gather together at all it is under the command of the man to work for him as slaves.

Woman Degraded and Non-moral

The woman is a hard-worked slave from early morning until late at night. In the field with her baby strapped on her back, carrying heavy loads supported by ropes across her forehead, cooking for her husband, then watching him eat up every crumb, leaving her hungry. "She is bought and sold, married and turned off, without regard to her preference, and when left a widow is inherited like other property by some man of her husband's family, perhaps his son. . . . Her virtue is held of no account. She has no innocent childhood, motherhood is desecrated, and when she wraps vileness about herself as her habitual garment, it is encouraged."[1]

Kongo Women

A recent writer in a missionary magazine says, "Kongo women are on a low plane. As children we can teach them to read and write, but when grown up it seems a hopeless task to teach them anything. They have no desire to rise higher mentally. They have very little thought, practically

[1] Parsons, *Christus Liberator*, 71.

no forethought. . . . But savage though a girl be, she gives a good deal of attention to dress, . . . even though it be only beads and a few leaves, and sometimes no leaves. . . . She has no consciousness of sin, and therefore no fear of the future. . . . Morally they are little better if any than the beasts of the forest. . . . The wrong is far more in being *found out* than in *doing*. . . . Stealing is general. . . . Lying and cheating are so usual that to lie is easier to many than to speak the truth. . . . Purity of life is particularly unknown."

Woes of Polygamy

Polygamy was and is practised everywhere among native, unevangelized Africans. The only limit to the number of wives is the man's inability to buy. The number of wives a man has increases the respect and honor in which he is held, since it indicates his wealth. Young girls are sold in infancy, yes, sometimes before their birth, to polygamous husbands who can take them while yet children into the intolerable life of the kraal—a life too brutish to bear description. Marriage being a commercial or animal affair there is no romance connected with it. A suitor does

not say, "I love this girl," but "I want her," and pays her price. A woman is always treated as property, first by her parents, then by her husband. "Chastity among unmarried, or even betrothed, women is not at all valued or insisted upon. . . . The universal understanding of adultery among the people is that of an offense with reference to married women only—not against chastity, but property."[1]

Relation of Mother to Children

The instinct of motherhood belongs to all animal life. With the heathen African mother, generally speaking, it is of short duration. It is limited to the period when the child is dependent upon her for nourishment. "If it falls she picks it up; if it cries she rocks it in her arms to make it hush [or slings it on her back and goes to work]; it is prevented from falling into the fire or into the stream, but no affection or solicitude inspires the care of it. . . . As soon as it can walk it receives no further care. . . . When it reaches the age of seven or eight it is put to work, sometimes before that time. From the tenth

[1] Dowd, *The Negro Races*, 135, 136. The girl is regarded as the property of her father and it is for that reason she has her value.

year the discipline becomes more severe and lashes rain upon it if it commits a fault, or fails to do its part of the work. His good and bad instincts are developed at haphazard. . . . We have lived several years in their midst and have never seen a mother embrace a child."[1]

Little Parental or Filial Feeling

The affection of fathers for their children is naturally weaker and less enduring than that of the mothers. The love of children for their parents is also short-lived, lasting only during the time when they are physically dependent upon them. Old or sick parents are often abandoned without food or care.

Religion Chiefly Spirit Worship

The West Africans have a vague belief in a Supreme Being which has grown dimmer and dimmer with passing generations. This Being, however, had nothing to do with the practical life. He was not even an object of worship. Their real religion was (and is) spirit worship, or rather the fear of evil spirits. "The Negro fancies the world is full of enemies, corporeal and spiritual, and is daily tortured with suspicions and superstitious fear. Every unusual place or object harbors a spirit pre-

[1] Foa, *Le Dahomy*, 111, 113, 194.

sumably hostile. He sees in every person who has anything to gain by his death or misfortune an enemy who is trying, by means of charms, incantations, or witchcraft to work him harm."[1] Thus the Negro spends his lifetime in bondage.

Fear of Evil Spirits

"They believe the spirits of the dead can return and wreak vengeance upon their enemies, or cause the death of those they wish to have with them. With this belief wives and slaves are to-day often sacrificed on the grave of a chief that they may attend him. They believe also that evil spirits make their abode in dangerous animals and in natural objects that have some unusual size or appearance, and make propitiatory offerings and prayers to them."

Medicine-man and Witchcraft

It is the office of the chief to pray to the tribal and local spirits for the protection of his people, but it is the medicine-man who is the powerful personage with the spirits. To him the people go when ill or unlucky, and he performs incantations and dances, while drums are beaten and women sing weird songs. This goes on all night, and sometimes for three or four nights.

[1] Parsons, *A Life for Africa*, 299.

WITCH-DOCTOR

Belief in witchcraft is one of the last to be undermined, and its power is both terrible and relentless.

Power of Witch-doctor

The witch-doctor is regarded with great respect and unbounded fear. "He can not only deal out herbs but can foretell the future; he can change a thing into something else, or a man into a lower animal or a tree or anything; he can also assume such transformations himself at will."[1] Very frequently he is regarded as inspired, or possessed by a familiar spirit through whose aid he makes his invocations and incantations and falls into cataleptic trances or "Delphic rages."

Fetichism

Fetichism like witchcraft was and is a fearful and deep-rooted power among African tribes. Fear is the motive of the fetich worshiper, though its outward expression in objects and rites may and does vary greatly in different localities and tribes. "In the heathen Negro's soul the fetich takes the place, and has the regard which an idol has with the Hindu and the Chinese." A fetich, strictly speaking, is little else than a charm or amulet worn, about the person, or set up at some con-

[1] Menzies, *History of Religion*, 73.

venient place to prevent evil or to secure good.[1]

Sacrifice A pile of stones placed at the foot of a tree or a leaf thrown into the water may do away with some lurking evil; an offering of food may appease a malignant spirit. A great evil expected calls for a blood sacrifice, usually a domestic fowl or animal, though in some places there are human sacrifices to propitiate malignant forces for the safety of the tribe. Sacrifices are often made to appease the displeased spirits of exacting grandfathers and other dead.

Prayer Prayer does not play much part in this worship. Their first purpose is to attract the attention of the spirit by loud calls, and the requests are generally for good luck in hunting, fishing, and other pursuits. Generally what might be called prayer is the utterance of cabalistic words or sentences supposed to be a charm against bad luck and their chief element is a pitiful deprecation of evil—there is no praise, no love, no thanks, no confession of sin.

What Is a Fetich? A fetich is any material object consecrated by the *oganga*, or magic doctor,

[1] Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, 81.

with a variety of ceremonies and processes, by which some spirit becomes localized in that object, and subject to the will of the possessor. Anything that can be conveniently carried on the person may thus be consecrated—a stone, chip, rag, string, or bead. Articles most frequently used are snail-shells, nut-shells, and small horns. Its value depends, not on itself, but on the skill of the oganga in dealing with spirits.

How Fetiches are Prepared

In preparing a fetich the oganga selects substances such as he deems appropriate to the end in view—the ashes of certain medicinal plants, pieces of calcined bones, gums, spices, and even filth, portions of organs of animals, especially human beings (eyes, brain, heart, gall-bladder), particularly of ancestors or men of renown, or enemies. Human eyeballs, particularly of a white person, are a great prize, and new-made graves have been rifled for them. They are compounded in secret, with the accompaniment of drums, dancing, invocations, and other performances, and are stuffed into the hollow of the shell or bone, or smeared over the stick or stone. If it be desired to obtain power

over some one else, there must be given to the oganga by the applicant, to be mixed in the compound, either crumbs from the food, or clippings of finger-nails or hair, or (most powerful!) even a drop of blood of the person over whom influence is sought. These represent the life or body of that person. "So fearful are natives of power being thus obtained over them, that they have their hair cut only by a friend; and even then they carefully burn it or cast it into a river. If one accidentally cuts himself, he stamps out what blood has dropped on the ground, or cuts out from wood the part saturated with blood. . . . The water with which a lover's body (male or female) is washed is used in making a philter to be mingled secretly in the drink of the loved one. . . . For every human passion or desire of every part of our nature, for our thousand necessities or wishes, a fetich can be made, its operation being directed to the attainment of one specified wish, and limited in power only by the possible existence of some more powerful antagonizing spirit."[1]

"White Art" and "Black Art"

There may be said to be two entirely

[1] Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, 83, 85.

different kinds of fetichism. Dr. Nassau uses the two terms "white art" and "black art." The former has been described above, and, as seen, its main purpose is to protect from evil spirits and to use them in preventing sickness and securing "good luck." "Black art" consists of evil practises pursued to cause sickness or death. The Negro justifies the former and practises it openly. The practitioner of the black art denies it and carries on his practises secretly. All over Africa such a thing as death from natural causes is not thought to exist; it is always the result of witchcraft, and the witch-doctor decides who is the guilty party. Any person accused is immediately put to death with his whole family. "To bewitch any one it is sufficient to spread medicine on his path or in his hut. There are also numerous other modes of working charms; for instance, if you want to cause an enemy to die, you make a clay figure that is supposed to represent him. With a needle you pierce the figure, and your enemy the first time he comes in contact with a foe, will be speared." The witch-doctor is able to produce sickness or death whenever he

pleases, and he can produce or stop rain and many other things. Hence these wizards are greatly feared. When once convinced that he has been bewitched, the victim cannot have that belief shaken by reason or argument, and can only be assured of recovery when stronger countercharms are used or the witch has been killed.

"Witchcraft Company"

There is a society (not distinctly organized) that may be called the "Witchcraft Company." It has its meetings at which they plot for the causing of sickness, or the taking of life. These meetings are secret; preferably in a forest or at least distant from a village. The hour is midnight. An imitation of the hoot of an owl, which is their sacred bird, is their signal call. They profess to leave their corporeal body lying asleep in their huts, and claim that the part which joins in the meeting is their spiritual body, whose movements are not hindered by walls or other physical objects. "They can pass with instant rapidity through the air, over the tree-tops. At their meetings they have visible, audible, and tangible communication with evil spirits. They partake of feasts; the article eaten being the 'heart-life' of some

human being, who, in consequence of this loss of his 'heart' becomes sick and will die, unless it be restored. The early cock-crowing is a warning to disperse . . . should the sun rise upon them before they reach their corporeal 'home,' their plans will fail, and themselves sicken . . . or if Cayenne pepper should have been rubbed over their home body before their return, they will be unable to re-enter it, and will die or miserably waste away."[1]

Enduring Hold of Fetich Superstition

"In emerging from his heathenism and abandoning his fetichism for the acceptance of Christianity, no part of the process is more difficult to the African Negro than the entire laying aside of superstitious practises, even after his assertion that they do not express his religious belief. From being a thief he can grow up an honest man; from being a liar, he can become truthful; from being indolent, he can become diligent; from being a polygamist, he can become a monogamist; from a status of ignorance and brutality, he can develop into educated courtesy. And yet in his secret thought, while he would not wear a fetich, he believes in its power, and

[1] Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, 123.

dreads its influence if possibly it should be directed against himself."[1]

Superstitions Exported to West Indies

"The slaves exported from Africa to the West Indies brought with them some of the seeds of African plants held by them as sacred to fetich in their native land. They established on those plantations the fetich-doctor, their dance, their charm, their lore, before they had learned English at all. And when the British missionaries came among them with church and school, while many of the converts were sincere, there were those of the doctor class who, like Simon Magus, entered into the Church fold for the sake of gain by the white man's influence, the white man's Holy Spirit. Outwardly everything was serene and Christian. Within was working an element of diabolism or fetichism, there known by the name of *obeah,* under whose leaven some of the churches were wrecked. And the same diabolism, known as voodoo worship in the Negro communities of the southern United States, has emasculated the spiritual life of many professed Christians."[2] And alas! we must accept the truth that "inbred beliefs, deep-

[1] Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa,* 101.
[2] Ibid., 125, 126.

ened by thousands of years of practise, are not eliminated by even a century of foreign teaching. Costume and fashion of dress are easily and voluntarily changed; not so the essence of one's being."

The Negro Brought His Religion to America

This evil religion came with the Negro slave to America, and unmistakable traces of it can be found to-day among the ignorant masses. "To overcome the inertia of ages, engendered in much of the continent [of Africa] by favoring soil and climate, and to displace the thirst for blood and for gold with a desire for peace and industry, requires rare patience and ability of a high order. How much greater is the demand made upon the spiritual nature, when one must create ideas of holiness and virtue by a stainless life before there can be any desire for better living!"[1] This is the task that devolves upon those who seek to evangelize the African savage, and that was laid upon those who sought to evangelize that same savage when transplanted to America.

African only Uplifted by Christianity

The Africa of the eighteenth century is the Africa of to-day, except where Christianity has lifted up the Christ at a ter-

[1] Beach, *Geography and Atlas of Protestant Missions*, 458.

rible cost of life and a vast expenditure of money. It is a tremendous task that has had its chief hindrance in the white man's rum and greed of gold which has further besotted the race. The fierce cannibal is not bettered when he is made a drunken idiot. The missionary has found among the poor, ignorant savages some noble responses to the gospel's call. The Sun of Righteousness is shining in many places in the Dark Continent, and in the kingdom of God many will rise up and bless Moffat, Livingstone, Taylor, and many others. The best work of these has not been in making Caucasian Christians of them, but noble Christian Negroes, in whom the highest of which they were capable has wonderfully responded to the Christ, and by His help and grace triumphed over the lowest of which human life was capable.

SUGGESTIONS FOR USING THE QUESTIONS

It is a mistake to assume that the questions at the end of the chapters can be used by any leader, because every list of questions must keep in mind the local conditions, and the ability of the class. These questions are not exhaustive, only suggestive, and should be used with discretion by every one leading the course of study.

The leader can easily add memory questions and others that will bear fruitful discussion, adapting all to the aim of each session. Questions marked * should prove helpful in more extended discussion.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER I

AIM: TO REALIZE WHAT TO EXPECT OF THE NEGRO IN VIEW OF HIS FORMER ENVIRONMENT

1.* What was the original state of the whole human race and the law of its evolution?
2.* Is the Negro an exception to the rule?
3. Why is it necessary in this study to consider the origin of the Negro?
4. What section of Africa did the Negro enter?
5. Name some of the main subdivisions of the Negro race.
6. Is there any uniformity of type?
7. From what section of Africa was the Negro brought to America?
8. Enumerate some of the fundamental race traits.
9.* What conditions of environment have developed these traits?
10. Name some of the most striking weaknesses in the government of the Africans.
11. How are slaves obtained and treated?
12. How does the African make his living?
13. Which members of the family do most of the work?
14. What would you miss most in an African family?
15. Name at least three objections to being the wife of an African.
16. Why do you suppose mothers early lose control of their children?

17.* Compare the Christian God with that of the African.
18.* What is the difference between our belief in the Holy Spirit and the belief of the African in spirits?
19. What is fetichism?
20. Who has the power to make fetiches?
21. What is the difference between "black art" and "white art"?
22. Enumerate some of the acknowledged powers of a witch-doctor.
23.* Are religious beliefs easy or difficult to change, and why?
24.* What conditions have made missionary work difficult among the Negroes?

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER STUDY.—CHAPTER I[1]

I. *Social Life.*

Dowd: The Negro Races, Part II, Ch. VIII.
Nassau: Fetichism in West Africa, I.
Naylor: Daybreak in the Dark Continent, II.
Parsons: Christus Liberator, III, V.
Stone: In Afric's Forest and Jungle, III, XI.
Williams: History of the Negro Race, III, IV.

II. *Religious Life.*

Dowd: The Negro Races, Part II, XXIII, XXIV.
Nassau: Fetichism in West Africa, II, III, IV, IX, XIII, XV.
Naylor: Daybreak in the Dark Continent, III.
Parsons: Christus Liberator, III, IV.
Stone: In Afric's Forest and Jungle, X, XXIV.

[1] These references are largely confined to the sections of Africa from which the American Negro came.

AMERICAN SLAVERY

More than any other part of Africa, the West Coast was or has been the slaver's hunting-ground. Here was the "Slave Coast" of the geographers, and among the Yoruba west of the Niger there was or has been more kidnaping than in any other quarter.

—*Ellen C. Parsons*

The slave had to work, but his work was conducted upon the right plan—he was not overworked, but was required to do a reasonable amount, without injury to himself physically, or to his master financially. . . . We had shoemakers, mechanics, blacksmiths, farmers, barbers, and butlers, each happy in his occupation. The old Negro men made baskets, chair bottoms, rugs, and the like to sell, as well as to supply the plantation; the old darkies received the proceeds of the articles sold. The field-hands who cultivated the fleecy staple of their masters' estates were very important factors in plantation life.

John Ambrose Price

American slavery was a great curse to both races, and I would be the last to apologize for it; but in the presence of God, I believe that slavery laid the foundation for the solution of the problem that is now before us in the South. During slavery the Negro was taught every trade, every industry, that constitutes the foundation for making a living.

—*Booker T. Washington*

II

AMERICAN SLAVERY

THE history of the rest of mankind offers no parallel to the story of the transportation of the Negroes from the African wilds to the shores of the American continent. The exodus of the Israelites from Egypt was a voluntary colonization scheme organized and directed, as they believed, by Jehovah, whereby they hoped to escape from cruel bondage to liberty and prosperity; and the distance to be traveled was comparatively short. Again, their Babylonish captivity was an incident of war that did not destroy their national life, and they later returned to their country.

Exodus of Israelites Voluntary

The Negro, contrary to his will, without knowledge of his destination and with no hope for the future, was forcibly carried thousands of miles across an unknown sea to an unknown fate in an unknown land. Thus uptorn as a weed from his native soil and all its surroundings and his past obliterated, difficult indeed would it have

Negro Forcibly Exported

been for him to believe that in the distant future his new home and its bondage was to work out for him a higher destiny. Seek to evade it as we may, we cannot escape the conviction that the almighty Hand of Love overshadowed the poor, unconscious victim and made the "wrath of man" to praise him in the future good of the Negro. Joseph said to his brethren who had sold him into slavery—"Ye meant evil against me; but God meant it for good, to bring to pass, as it is this day, to save much people alive."[1]

Slavery the First Step

As the upward movement of the race proceeds, it becomes more and more evident that American slavery with its discipline and training was the first great step in the evolution of the African savage into a citizen of civilization. With this preview of its resultant purpose, the student takes a deeper interest in noting the beginning, the conditions that existed, and the close of the period of Negro bondage in the United States.

Civilized Nations Extended Slavery

While slavery existed in all African tribes throughout the continent as far as known, it was left to the civilized nations—

[1] Gen. l. 20.

Portugal, Spain, England, Denmark, and France—to extend the traffic by exporting slaves to other lands. This slave-trade began in the fifteenth century, and continued for nearly four centuries. To Protestant Christian England belongs the largest share of the infamy involved, for with her usual impelling force she soon outstripped all competitors. The traffic was legalized in 1562, and charters were granted to trading companies. She supplied her own colonies with slaves, and her merchants secured the monopoly of the Spanish colonial slave-trade. The United States followed the example set by the mother country and was not behind her in energy.

Horrors of Slave-trade

The horrors of the slave-trade have been often described; they could not be exaggerated. There were continual scenes of raid, burning villages, fettered slaves, cruel beatings, and weary marches. The weak often perished on the way to the slave-ships which were waiting at the coast. Then followed the horrors of the "middle passage," when men, women, and children were shackled and packed together in the ship's hold in suffocating masses to die or to live, as the chance might

be. Imagination refuses to picture the agony the unfortunate captives must have endured during those long weeks, ere they were unloaded in a strange land, where they were to begin an entirely new existence.

Opposition to Slave-trade

The conscience of Christendom was not sleeping and her voice was not silent. Pitt and Fox fought against the slave-trade in England, and the opposition of some of the American colonies was great. As early as 1760, "an act of total prohibition in South Carolina was disallowed by Great Britain." In 1772, Virginia appealed to the King against "the pernicious commerce." Thomas Jefferson put into his original draft of the Declaration of Independence a clause indicting George III for maintaining this slave-trade as a "piratical warfare." It was stricken out by Congress. Legislation, limiting and prohibitive, was passed again and again by the original thirteen States. Massachusetts passed such a law as early as 1641, at the time when her own Boston merchants were the largest importers.

Date of First Slaves in the United States

Statements differ as to the date of the landing of the first African slaves in what

is now the United States. One is that a Spanish ship brought the first load as early as 1526. Another is that they were brought by the Dutch, nineteen in number, in 1619, and were landed at Jamestown, Virginia. This last date seems to have the best authority.

Abolition of Slave-trade

In 1807 laws to abolish the slave-trade were passed in both England and the United States and these went into effect the next year. At that time, after one hundred and eighty-eight years of the trade, over 1,000,000 Negroes were in the United States. In 1860, fifty-three years later, that number had increased, by birth and continued importation, to 4,441,830. It has been claimed, and with a large degree of probability, that the law was often evaded and that slaves were smuggled into the country in large numbers at first, but that the numbers gradually decreased as the danger and frequent loss rendered the trade unprofitable.

Segregation in the South

When first introduced into this country the Negroes were scattered in varying numbers throughout the colonies, or the States, as they became later. The conditions of climate and not public opinion

influenced their distribution, and, finally, brought about their almost entire segregation in the South. The Northern slaveholders, finding them unprofitable in cold latitudes, did not pass emancipation laws until nearly all had been sold into the Southern States, where the more genial climate made their labor more productive. Thus the South became charged with the life and destiny of the American Negro—a responsibility greater than the profit to be gained and one that was to affect its own destiny, complicate its own life socially, industrially, and politically, and leave it involved in a gigantic problem that must be worked out by the two races as they live side by side and work together with God.

Wretched Savages Meeting Civilization

The pitiable condition of the Negroes when they were landed on our shores can hardly be described, yet the imagination has many solid facts on which it may paint a picture. The rapid survey given of the condition of the African in his native wilds showed his state to be that of a degraded savage. To this must now be added the horrible results of his long voyage. Physically he was often suffering from disease

and cruel wounds, sometimes crippled, maimed, or mutilated. Mentally he was absolutely ignorant of the demands of civilization, its dress and food, its customs, its labor, and its language. Morally he was generally vicious in habits, and displayed only the basest standard of life. Spiritually it was inevitable that he would be the fearful slave of belief in evil spirits, with a religion that was a foul compound of animalism and witchcraft. Yet these poor, wretched savages were human beings, with possibilities of suffering and sorrow, love, happiness, and righteousness that God alone knew at that time, but which the white people were to learn.

Restraint Necessary for Protection

There was no thought of preserving family ties—these were destroyed when the victims were sold in Africa. Often utter strangers to each other, perhaps of warring tribes, and speaking different dialects, they were bartered like a herd of animals to white American masters for whom they naturally felt hatred as well as fear. These sentiments constantly threatened to break out into open mutiny, and they often did so; therefore close, often severe, control was resorted to in order to restrain

them and insure the protection of the owners.

New Experiences

They were compelled to labor with unknown tools by commands given in an unknown tongue; to wear irksome clothing, to eat unfamiliar food; to submit to unknown and, to them, unreasonable restraints in habits and morals. Civilization had its price for the savage African, as it has for all peoples.

Civilizing a Heavy Task

On the other hand, we can hardly conceive of the magnitude of the task which devolved upon the owners of these savages in civilizing, training, and evangelizing them. Such a task might well fill an angel's hands. And yet in a large degree, considering the circumstances, it was accomplished, as we must believe, when we compare these imported Africans with their descendants at the time of their emancipation.

A National Sin

It is not necessary here to enter upon an arraignment of or defense of slavery. If it was a sin it was a national sin, and the nation as a whole is responsible for it. And well may the people of all sections thank God that the institution of Negro slavery no longer exists in our country.

A Burden of Misunderstanding

Justice demands, however, that a true narration of the conditions of American slavery be given, to exonerate a great and noble people from the accumulated misrepresentations of generations—a people who, while seeking to fulfil rightly their inherited task, bore a burden that none but themselves understood, a chief part of which was the misunderstanding of those who had helped to lay that burden upon them. Surely the time has come when *all* are willing to hear something of the true story of American slavery.

Negro Capable of Progress

Justice to the Negroes also demands that it be shown that they were capable of taking advantage of the restraints of civilization, the industrial training and the gospel opportunities of slavery, to rise to a higher plane than that of their African ancestors.

Extent of Ownership

The limited extent of slave ownership is often a matter of surprise to those who learn the facts for the first time. Professor G. W. Dyer in his valuable work, *Democracy in the South Before the Civil War,* presents the following statistics:

From the census of 1860 we learn that the total white population in the Southern

States was 8,179,356; while the number of slaveholders in all these States was only 383,637 and the total number of slaves was 3,948,713, the average number of slaves to each owner was 10. Only about one-fourth of the Southern men owned any slaves at all, and one-fifth of that one-fourth owned only one slave; and more than half of all the slaveholders owned less than five. There were about 2,300 men that owned more than 100, and only 14 that owned more than 500.

Slave Labor Expensive

Professor Dyer says further: "Slave labor was just as expensive in the South before the war as free labor would have been under similar economic conditions. . . . The owners had to look after every interest of the slave—his food, clothing, shelter, health, his habits and his discipline—and not for the working slave only, but for those incapacitated for work by sickness, old age, and infancy, and this in hard times as well as flush, for the unworthy and for the worthy. . . . The fact that hundreds of thousands of free white men were employed in the South before 1860 and received as high wages as farm-hands in the North shows that

there was no special advantage in slave labor."[1]

Thousands of Free Negroes

The selling of slaves, especially in a way to sunder members of families, was not so frequent as is sometimes imagined. In 1860 there were thousands of slaves who had been owned for generation after generation by the same family. There were also many thousands who had been emancipated by their masters. Before the Civil War the free Negro population in the South was estimated at over a quarter of a million. While by far the larger number of these were idle and shiftless, many were honest and industrious artisans who plied their trades among both white and black people. Some of this better class owned valuable property, and in a few instances they were not only landowners but slaveowners.

Principal Occupations

There were a large number of slaves who served a regular apprenticeship at some trades and became skilled workmen. Some of these rendered valuable service on the plantations, others were hired out by their masters to contractors, and still others were allowed to "hire their own

[1] Dyer, *Democracy in the South Before the Civil War*, 41-44.

time" and make monthly or annual settlement with their masters. The Negro artisan worked side by side most amicably with the white man following the same trade.

Agriculture and Domestic Service

The vast majority of the slaves were employed in agriculture and domestic service. There was a marked difference between those known as "farm-hands" and the "house servants." The position of the latter being regarded as higher and the work lighter, it was eagerly desired and sought. This difference was more marked on large plantations in the far South than on the small farms in the Middle States.

Plantation Life

The plantation Negroes were generally the latest arrivals from Africa and those of the lowest tribal type. These were being constantly reenforced by the worst specimens from other sections. Being "sold down South" was frequently the punishment for offenses that now send them to the penitentiary. The threat of it often proved an efficacious restraint upon bad propensities.

Overseers Sometimes Cruel

On the large sugar, rice, and cotton plantations where they dwelt in large numbers and came very little into contact with the

white race, the gain for the Negroes for a long time was only in settled habits of industry and in learning obedience to law. It seemed impossible for even this to be accomplished without force, and, since the ordinary plantation overseer was not always what he ought to have been any more than industrial subordinates or city police are to-day, brutal force was undoubtedly often used rather than Christlike patience and instruction in righteousness. This was more frequently the case where plantations suffered from the evils of "absenteeism," but many times the returning owner indignantly corrected abuses and discharged the overseer. In the hands of wicked men the power of the owner was abused, as power always has been and always will be by the unrighteous the world over. It should not, however, be forgotten that many of the punishments inflicted by the owner upon slaves were for such offenses as in this day send both white and black culprits to the jails and penitentiaries. The effect upon the character of the offender and in the prevention of crime was far more satisfactory, especially if the criminal was young.

An Honorable Responsibility

The large majority of Southern slaveholders felt an honorable responsibility for the care and protection of their slaves, aside from pecuniary interest, even though such care should lessen their financial profits. Beyond this, they felt an indulgent compassion, that deepened into love for the helpless folk dependent upon them. They looked at them *en masse* and saw racial inferiority in mind, body, and morality, and did not expect from them what they did from white people. Any one going upon a plantation to-day where Negroes work in large numbers, either in America or elsewhere, will receive the same impression without, possibly, the same indulgent feeling.

Housing of Negroes

The plantation Negroes lived in locations known as "the quarters," usually, each family in a house of one or two rooms. The character of these houses as to appearance and comfort varied with the financial ability or humanity of the owner. Some slave-owners were poor or involved in debt, and lived poorly themselves, while others, alas! lacked the Christly love that gives attention to the conditions of the unfortunate. Generally speaking, the houses

Slave Cabins, Lawrenceville, Virginia

Copyright, Underwood and Underwood

Slave Cabins, "The Hermitage," Savannah, Georgia

for the slaves would bear comparison with the homes of the peasant class in many lands, and were far less crowded and more sanitary than the houses occupied by the lower class of laborers, white or black, in some of our cities to-day.

Usually Well Cared for by Owners

The Negroes of the South corresponded to the poor people of other countries, and poverty anywhere means the lack of luxury and, sometimes, of the necessities of life; yet these last the Southern slave never lacked. To this statement there are a thousand witnesses to one against it. The food and clothing given them were good and sufficient for the climate—very plain, of course, but satisfying and clean. Where the climate required a fire there was always an ample supply of fuel, and there never was any rent to pay, or bills for physician and drugs. The old, the young, and the sick were even more the recipients of such provision than the laborer, from whose shoulders the burden of caring for these was lifted.

Labor Regulations

The hours of work, as is usual for farm-hands, were regulated by the length of the season's day, the weather, and the physical condition of the individual. No work

was required of the old or feeble beyond what they were capable of rendering. The expectant mother and the nursing mother were guarded from overwork. On some plantations mothers were given no work that took them away from their little children, on others the children were placed in the care of a woman called a "tender," who kept them in what we now call a day nursery or crèche. There was no thought of child labor as it is now understood; generally only a few trivial tasks were given children before they were ten or twelve years old, and later on their work was regulated to suit their years and strength. They were not confined as our white children are to-day in mills and factories and sweat-shops.

Holidays and Sundays

Saturday afternoons, Christmas week, and the Fourth of July were by almost universal custom regarded as holidays, and no work was required except feeding the stock. These holidays were spent by the thrifty in the truck gardens usually allowed them, or on any kind of job work by which they could make money for themselves, such as the making of baskets, brooms, shuck mats, and similar articles;

while the fun-loving spent them in hunting, fishing, dancing, and play. Sunday was a day of rest, wherein they loafed or slept, except during the hours of worship. Unless the master was actively opposed to Christianity, which was rare, regular religious services were conducted in a house he had built for the purpose, or in a barn or gin house cleaned for the occasion, the preacher being either a white "missionary" or one of their own race—sometimes the master or mistress.

Marriage

The marriage relation was encouraged by owners and accounted honorable among themselves, though the disregard of it was frequent, as is the case with the ignorant class everywhere. When compared with the unrestrained licentiousness of their savage past, this was slight indeed.

Little Drunkenness and Gambling

To sell liquor to a slave was illegal and subjected the seller to punishment; hence there was little drunkenness among them, and there was little occasion or opportunity for gambling on the plantation. The restraints of slavery saved them from these vices that to-day are doing much to destroy them.

Negroes were not allowed to leave the

Restrictions and Liberties

plantation after nightfall without a written permit from the owner. If one was found outside without this "pass," he was subject to arrest by the rural police called "patrols," or, as the Negroes pronounced it, "patter-rollers." This restraint prevented much roguery and was especially helpful in keeping young men from night dissipation, and it left them in better condition for the morrow's work. Within the bounds of the plantation there was little or no restraint placed on their frolics and fun-making. On such occasions their joyous temperament and natural gayety found such expression as made it hard to believe that they were miserable and unhappy. Marriage off the plantation was not encouraged. In some cases it was forbidden. The custom in such marriages was to allow the husband, if the distance was not great, to go every night to the home of the wife; if distant, to go Saturday night and remain till Monday morning. The children of such marriages belonged to the owner of the wife.

No Schools but Valuable Training

There were no schools for the Negroes, and with but few exceptions the plantation Negroes were absolutely illiterate, yet

there was a certain amount of education and mental development that came with training in diversified industries, and with the learning of a new language by those who were brought to this country as adults. There was also much verbal teaching among them in the way of songs, recitations, and story-telling. A considerable amount of valuable information was imparted by their "wise ones," gained by close observations of nature in its various forms, to which they added shrewd "sayings" and wise proverbs full of common sense.

Domestic Servants

The "house servants" formed a class quite distinct and socially above the field-hand, and even among them there were degrees, something after this fashion: the children's nurse, "Mammy," the butler, the carriage driver, the gentleman's body-servant, the "lady's-maid," the cook, the gardener. All of these held sway in certain realms of their own, the dignity of which they tried to impress on others, while they enjoyed its advantages and perquisites. Next to these was the "head man" (known only in fiction as the "driver") of the farm-hands. He was

most frequently a man of fine character as well as of physical prowess, and respected alike by white and black.

House Servants

The house servants were generally chosen from among their fellows because of their intelligence and good appearance, or because their parents had been in the house. Their close association—for it was very close, intimate, and affectionate—with the white family and their guests gained for them a certain sort of culture of mind, morals, and manners totally unknown to the mass of their people. Many of them read well. They were loyal to the last degree to the white family and its traditions, identifying themselves with it to the extent of feeling themselves a part of it in joy or sorrow, and having a sense of ownership in all that belonged to it. They were in turn trusted and loved by their white people, and thus was formed a bond so strong that not even the great war was able to sunder it.

Mammy and Nursling

Those who did not know personally the relation between the black "Mammy" and her nurslings can never understand it. The heart grows tender, the eyes moist, in recalling the dear black face that

so often bent over the writer of these pages and the sheltering arms that held her in sleep or sickness, the sympathetic consoler in childish troubles and the instructor in manners, all summed up in "Mammy," otherwise "Aunt Gilly"—"faithful until death." She was a type of hundreds of others, and all through the South there are white men and women who have the same tender memories of their loving nurses. The same feeling in a lesser degree extended to many "uncles" and "aunts" and playfellows.

Home a Training School

Many a Southern home was a better model for an industrial school than some that have been established of late years for white and black girls. The training was individual, thorough, practical, and the result the finest domestic service that ever existed. The men and women who owned the Negroes were not luxurious idlers, as they have often been represented. The Southern mistress, besides being a notable housekeeper and a devoted mother of many children, was often a combination of "a head resident in a settlement," a "health officer," a "superintendent of nurses," a "director of industries," a "con-

fidential adviser and umpire " of family and neighbor difficulties, with many minor duties. She looked after the sanitary condition of the " cabin " and the personal habits of its occupants, and required cleanliness. She visited the sick constantly, and often administered the medicine and prepared the food with her own hands. She looked after the babies, and instructed the mothers in their care. She comforted the sorrowing, rejoiced with the happy, and, if she herself were a Christian, pointed the dying to Christ. She or her daughters were often the Sunday-school teachers of the children, and read the Bible to the old and sick in their cabins.

Witch-doctors Imported

Imported along with others of their tribe came the " witch-doctors," or medicine-men, and these by their knowledge of the secret things of their profession and by the desire to preserve their power over the people (with the gains of it) did more than anything else to hinder the evangelization of the Negroes. Fear of the malevolent use of the witch-power was the largest cause of their influence over the timid; and with the wicked there was a desire to secure their help in furthering their own evil

purposes. This power was possessed as often by women as men, and was a terrible weapon when directed by jealousy, envy, and anger, and its results were manifested in the failing health and sometimes in the death of its victims. The explanation may be found in some degree in mental suggestion and nervous terror, but also, though in possibly a lesser degree, in the use of poison, the secret of which was brought from Africa. This practise of the "black art" of fetichism was hidden with cunning wisdom from the whites, especially from the master, except in sad cases of sickness when the sufferer would be pronounced conjured. For these medical treatment was of little avail.

Fetichism

"It was a secret religion, that lurked thinly covered in slavery days, and that lurks to-day beneath the Negro's Christian profession as a white art, and among non-professors as a black art; a memory of the revenges of his African ancestors; a secret fraternity among slaves of far distant plantations, with words and signs—the lifting of a finger, the twitch of an eyelid—that telegraphed from house to house with amazing rapidity (as to-day in Africa)

current news in old slave days and during the Civil War; suspected but never understood by the white master; which, as a superstition, has spread among our ignorant white masses as the 'Hoodoo.' Vudu, or Odoism, is simply African fetichism transplanted to American soil."[1]

Still Retain Some Beliefs

"It is almost impossible for persons who have been brought up under this system ever to divest themselves fully of its influence. It has been retained among the blacks of this country, though in a less open form, even to the present day, and probably will never be fully abandoned until they have made much higher attainments in Christian education and civilization."[2]

Despite Difficulties Thousands Transformed

A statement of these conditions shows the great difficulty that was encountered in teaching the gospel of purity and truth to a people many of whom were born savages, or were but one generation removed from savagery. Yet faithful men and women of God wrought a great work for their Lord in bringing thousands, yes, hundreds of thousands, of these poor heathen and semi-heathen to know and to love the

[1] Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, 274, 275.
[2] Wilson, *Western Africa*.

Christ. There have been many "simple annals of the poor" Christian Negroes preserved that thrill the heart to gladness in Jesus, for that he hath redeemed unto himself many peoples of many nations—stories of humble faith and unswerving devotion to God, of patient unselfishness toward others, of joy in the Lord, and of power in intercessory prayer for the sinner.

Some Considerations

In considering the Christianization of the Africans who dwelt in this country as slaves, conditions should be frankly considered in order to understand not only the missionary efforts of the Churches and Christian workers, but also the difficulties and, at times, the almost insurmountable hindrances that attended those efforts and lessened their results.

Public Opinion Opposed

1. The public opinion of an age that permitted the slave-trade was not favorable to a Christlike attitude toward the slave, or a recognition of his spiritual nature and its needs.

Majority of Colonists Not Interested in Religion

2. The majority of the colonists came to America to improve their fortunes, and the purchase of slaves was simply a commercial transaction. Many colonists were

not Christians themselves, and, as a matter of course, cared nothing for the salvation of others, either white or black. This class of men in that day, as in this, easily persuaded themselves into thinking that all religion was either superstition or hypocrisy, and that the Negroes were better off without it. The worst of them exercised their power in refusing religious opportunities to their slaves.

Uprisings Necessitated Precautions

3. Certain uprisings of dissatisfied slaves in different parts of the country made it necessary, in the minds of some, to prevent all large gatherings among them with the possibilities which they offered of fomenting and planning disturbances; and, as religious gatherings were sometimes used for this purpose, they were also at times disallowed, and in some places laws were passed forbidding them as well as others. This was especially true during the period immediately following the early abolition movement and the intolerance which accompanied it.

Vicious Nature Made Missionary Effort Difficult

4. The low, vicious nature of the Africans made then, as now, any missionary effort among them difficult and slow. They were imbued with the basest super-

stitions and clung to their fetich with unreasoning fear. Their spiritual faculties were so dormant that they often seemed incapable of spiritual perception of any kind. Their physical habits and immoral practises were so filthy and debasing that their moral degeneracy opposed bitterly the doctrines of purity and truth, and even when Christianity was accepted many adherents would not regard its ethics.

Language a Barrier

5. On the plantations there were many who did not know enough English to understand the words of the preacher, and they were so stupid that they could never learn it, and their own language possessed no spiritual terms that would properly convey to them the gospel of love and purity. Over this class of native Africans and their children the witch-doctor had as much fearful power as in the wilds of Africa.

Turbulent Conditions Unfavorable

6. The turbulent state of mind preceding and during the Revolutionary War, and the unsettled conditions which followed it and which led to the Western movement, were unfavorable to all religious life.

Infidel Propaganda an Impediment

7. The infidel propaganda of Voltaire, Rousseau, and Paine that swept through

Christendom like a poison virus turned away many hearts from Christ and righteousness. Its influence was felt from New England to the Carolinas, in the eastern cities and the wildernesses of the West. Slave-owners infected by it bitterly resented or ridiculed the efforts of preachers or even of their own Christian wives to teach the Negroes belief in God. The unshaken faith and Christian courage of American women during that time of apostasy was the leaven that saved this country for Christ. Later, great revivals swept over the country and the quickening of the Holy Spirit was felt by both white and black—master and slave often being converted at the same "mourner's bench." One of the important results of these revivals was the increased sense of responsibility felt by masters for the religious instruction of their Negroes.

God Fulfilling His Promise

In and through all these difficulties and adverse influences the Church of God and his faithful children never ceased their efforts to save the poor African slaves. And God was fulfilling his promise that his Word should not return unto him void. The seed of the Word was falling upon

hearts prepared by the Spirit to receive it, and was bearing fruit to the glory of God in the conversion and daily life of more and yet more of the slaves. The history of this missionary movement is as interesting as any that has been written of Africa, and the results are more wonderful.[1]

Church Membership in South

At the beginning of the Civil War (1860), the census reports the Negro population of the South as 4,097,111. In the Baptist and Methodist Churches alone 607,786 Negroes were enrolled as baptized members, and instructed adherents were estimated at 1,823,328. Add to this the membership and adherents of the Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal, Moravian, and Negro Baptist Churches, of which no records can be obtained, and there must have been over 2,000,000 Negroes in the Southern States who were either professing Christians or under direct Protestant Christian influence and instruction—nearly one-half of their whole number. Of the

[1] The details of this great work of the saving of a people will be told elsewhere in this volume, as the story of the evolution of the race proceeds and the dark meaning of its different stages unfolds and grows clearer. Let it suffice here to give the result of the unquenchable love, unfailing patience, generous giving, and unflagging zeal of years of this heroic effort.

other half there were hundreds, possibly thousands, of Roman Catholics, and there must also have been large numbers to whom the gospel had been preached and who refused to receive it.

Membership in North

In the North, in 1860, there was a Negro population of 344,719, of whom we can claim that an equal proportion were Christians and under Christian instruction. Does the history of missions present any parallel to this?

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER II

AIM: TO UNDERSTAND THOROUGHLY THE CONDITIONS THAT OBTAINED AMONG THE SLAVES AND THE PROGRESS THEY MADE

1. When were the first slaves landed in America?
2.* What was the real motive for importing Negroes to America?
3. Name the countries most interested in this traffic.
4. Describe some of the horrors of the slave-trade.
5.* Imagine and describe the condition of the mind of an African when he first landed on American soil.
6. What States made the first movement toward abolition?
7. When and in what country was the slave-trade first abolished?
8. What were the natural causes that segregated the slaves in the South?

9.* Why was it necessary to place the Negroes under restraint when they first landed in America?
10. What proportion of the Negroes were enslaved and what proportion of the Southern whites owned slaves?
11. What were the principal occupations of the slaves?
12. Why was it not advantageous to an owner to neglect the care of his slaves?
13.* Why is it not just to assume that all owners or overseers treated the Negroes cruelly?
14. What was the responsibility of an owner to his slaves?
15. Name some of the regulations as to labor, moral and physical conditions, under which slaves were held.
16. Why were these necessary?
17. What were the duties of some of the most important servants?
18. What benefits did the Negroes acquire in slavery?
19.* Name some of the difficulties that surrounded the civilization of the Negroes.
20. Name some of the difficulties in the way of evangelizing the slaves among the white people.
21. What were the obstacles among the slaves that made their evangelization difficult?
22.* How do you account for the success of missionary work among the slaves?

References for Further Study.—Chapter II

American Slavery.[1]

Merriam: The Negro and the Nation, XII.
Page, In Ole Virginia, 1-77.
Page: The Negro: The Southerner's Problem, I.
Price: The Negro, IV, VI, VII.
Pyrnelle: Diddie, Dumps and Tot, I-XVII.
Shannon: Racial Integrity, III.
Sinclair: The Aftermath of Slavery, I.
Washington: Up From Slavery, I, II.
Washington: Frederick Douglass, I, II, III.
Whipple: Negro Neighbors, I.
Williams: History of the Negro Race, XXX, XXXI.

[1] In these references the view-point of Negroes, Southerners, and Northerners, is given. Students may select whichever they prefer. However, as a rule, it will be wise to have all sides presented.

FIRST YEARS OF FREEDOM

As to actual behavior of the Negroes, under this sudden and tremendous change of condition, certain facts were noted; not a single act of vengeance was charged against them; a great part, probably the large majority, remained or soon went back to work for their old employers; but a considerable part began an aimless roaming to enjoy their new liberty, or huddle around the stations where the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau doled out some relief.

—*George S. Merriam*

The white people of the South were harassed by pressing necessities, and most of them in a troubled and greatly excited state of mind. The emancipation of the slaves had destroyed the traditional labor system upon which they had depended.

—*Carl Schurz*

The Southern people, blacks and whites, were in a position of almost unexampled difficulty. To the ravages of war and invasion, of impoverishment and bereavement—and, as it fell out, to two successive seasons of disastrous weather for crops,—was added at the outset a complete disarrangement of the principal supply of labor. The mental overturning was as great as the material. To the Negroes "freedom" brought a vague promise of life without toil or trouble. The hard facts soon undeceived them.

—*George S. Merriam*

III

FIRST YEARS OF FREEDOM

ONCE again the American Negro, without his volition or personal effort, was subjected to a radical change in his condition and forced to take another step in the onward movement of his racial life. It was a change as bewildering and attended with as much suffering as that which brought him out from the African jungle into American slavery. This time he was to pass over a sea, not of water but of blood, into a land of strange responsibilities. Like a babe cradled on a battlefield, amid the sounds of a strife in which he had no part, the Negro first breathed the priceless air of liberty and seized unthinkingly upon its unearned privileges, nor counted its cost. As his feet entered the path leading onward and upward to a still further process in his evolution, he found that that which his past life gave him was to prove his best preparation for the demands of his present, and the hard les-

Another Step

sons still to be learned were to be the "growing pains" of a life that meant the real achievement that is wrought out from within. The inner processes of racial evolution cannot be ignored, though they may be hindered or accelerated from without.

Demand for Freedom

The Negro laborer in the South sang or sighed at his work, and partook of human joy and sorrow all unconscious of the forces that were working out his destiny. While the invention of the cotton-gin, carpeting the South with that great staple for which the commerce of the world waited, increased the value of his labor and fastened his bonds more surely, there was a growing demand among the nations for universal freedom. Strange to say, from the Mother Country, which had forced slavery upon her Southern colonies, came the first cry for its abolishment, and the cry was caught up in those Northern States that, having rid themselves of the opportunity to bestow freedom on the Negro, now demanded that others be more generous in loosing his bonds. The underlying forces worked mightily, and a great upheaval approached.

While the antislavery sentiment was

growing in the North, the proslavery sentiment was growing in the South. The abolitionist became fiercely uncompromising, and in his burning enthusiasm for the freedom of the Negro represented the white slave-owner as little better than an agent of the devil, and his professions of Christianity as almost blasphemous hypocrisy. An intelligent Christian gentleman stated recently that in home, school, and church he was taught that it was impossible to be both a Christian and a slave-owner, and that he hated the whole South until he grew old enough to think and see for himself.

Northern Sentiment

The activities of the abolitionists in arousing prejudice against the South in the nation and in the world were bitterly resented, and when they extended to efforts to incite the slaves to insurrection, the Southern man blazed with fury and heaped anathemas upon all Yankees. An abolitionist meant to him a "canting fanatic" who would steal, burn, and even murder white people to carry out his mistaken ideas of good for the black man.

Southern Sentiment

That which began in recriminations became open curses and violent demonstra-

The Nation Aroused

tions of hatred. Philanthropy entered upon the political arena, and sectional politicians fought out the battle in the national capitol. Brilliant intellect, intrepid courage, intense conviction, bitter prejudice, all combined to make the conflict amazing. The giants of the nation on both sides of the line were engaged in it. On one side the slogan was "State Rights," on the other "Federal Power." Great constitutional questions were thus involved and their establishment became the supreme effort of the statesmen of the country, as each conceived them. But underneath it all was the question and fate of the institution of slavery.

A National Tragedy

It would be useless to recount here the different steps of this political contest. It would be a long story to tell "How the battle was lost and won." Nor is it needful to rewrite the "oft-told tale" of the Civil War which out of political antagonism burst like a fearful storm over our devoted land. Hand to hand, foot to foot, brother against brother, we fought our fight to a finish. The world has never known such a war. Brave hearts on each side recognized the true soldier on the

other, and when the end came, that final scene on the field of Appomattox is typical of the feelings of those who on both sides fought for what they deemed the right. The intrepid, great-souled Lee, accepting defeat, rendered up his sword with calm dignity to the conqueror. With true magnanimity, Grant, the invincible warrior, returned that sword with courteous words of refusal to claim such evidence of his triumph. God help us! What untold suffering and shame would have been spared our country if that spirit had prevailed in the councils of the nation in the years that followed!

The Negro the Greatest Sufferer

It is an acknowledged fact that Negro slavery was made the cause of the war, yet whatever of wrong was wrought, or agony suffered, the Negro was an innocent cause, and in the immediate results the greater sufferer. After forty years one can look back and see how for his sake ignorance, hate, prejudice, and greed united in causing that great national tragedy, and later on the still more bitter suffering to the South of the Reconstruction Period. But, alas! none can ever calculate the loss entailed upon him by the way his freedom

came to him. Nor has he yet been relieved of the destructive, degenerating influence brought to bear upon him when, like a child beginning to walk, he looked for some one to lead him and was recklessly pushed into a ditch and left to extricate himself. When he needed bread he was given a stone which, when he had thrown it, rebounded against himself. When he needed a light to keep his feet from straying, he was taught to look at the sun until his eyes were dazzled and he lost his way.

Praise for Negro

It is hardly in place to introduce here a broad discussion of the matter, yet it would not be just to the Negro to remain silent in regard to some of the facts of this period of his history that redound to his praise, and others that plunged him into so many difficulties, political, industrial, and social, and retarded all missionary effort in his behalf.

To Present-day Readers

Writers and speakers, both white and black, have recorded these things in worthy tributes to both races, and it seems well to repeat some of them here as the best presentation of the subject to present-day readers.

Thomas Nelson Page says: "It is to the

Thomas Nelson Page's Testimony

eternal credit of the whites and of the Negroes that during the four years of war, when the white men of the South were absent in the field, they could entrust their homes, their wives, their children, all they possessed, to the care and guardianship of their slaves with absolute confidence in their fidelity. And this trust was never violated. . . . Of the thousands who went as servants with their masters to the war I never heard of one who deserted to the North, and many had abundant opportunity."[1]

"They raised the crops that fed the Confederate army, and suffered without complaint the privations which came alike to white and black."[2]

Tribute to Both Races.

This is a tribute to both races, inasmuch as it shows that mutual love and kindness helped to keep the bondsman true to his master.

Booker T. Washington's Testimony

Booker T. Washington says on this subject: "The self-control which the Negro exhibited during the war marks, it seems to me, one of the most important chapters in the history of the race. Notwithstanding he knew his master was away from

[1] Page, *The Negro: The Southerner's Problem*, 188.
[2] Ibid., 22.

home fighting a battle which, if successful, would result in his continued enslavement, yet he worked faithfully for the support of the master's family. If the Negro had yielded to the temptation and suggestion to use the torch or dagger in an attempt to destroy his master's property or family, the result would have been that the war would have been quickly ended; for the master would have returned from the battle-field to protect and defend his property and family. But the Negro to the last was faithful to the trust that had been thrust upon him, and during the four years of war there is not a single instance recorded where he attempted in any way to outrage the family or to injure his master's property."[1]

Weakness of Reconstruction Period

The same writer says of the Reconstruction Period: "At the close of the war both the white man and the Negro found themselves in the midst of poverty. The ex-master returned from the war to find his slave property gone, his farms and other industries in a state of collapse, and the whole industrial or economic system upon which he had depended for years entirely

[1] Washington, *The Future of the American Negro*, 8, 9.

disorganized. . . . The weak point, to my mind, in the reconstruction era, was that no strong force was brought to bear in the direction of preparing the Negro to become an intelligent, reliable citizen and voter. The main effort seems to have been in the direction of controlling his vote for the time being, regardless of future interests.

Negro Unprepared for Reconstruction Period

" I hardly believe that any race of people with similar preparation and similar surroundings would have acted more wisely or very differently from the way the Negro acted during this period of reconstruction. Without experience, without preparation, and in most cases without ordinary intelligence, he was encouraged to leave the field and shop and enter politics. That under such circumstances he should have made mistakes is very natural. I do not believe that the Negro was so much at fault for entering so largely into politics and for the mistakes that were made in too many cases, as were the unscrupulous white leaders who got the Negro's confidence and controlled his vote to further their own ends, regardless of the permanent welfare of the Negro. . . .

Lack of Sympathy Among Southern White Men

"It was unfortunate that the Southern white man did not make more of an effort at this time to get the confidence and sympathy of the Negro, and thus keep him in close touch and sympathy in politics. It was also unfortunate that the Negro was so completely alienated from the Southern white man. I think it would have been better for all concerned if, immediately after the close of the war, an educational and property qualification for the exercise of the franchise had been prescribed that would have applied fairly and squarely to both races, and also if, in educating the Negro, greater stress had been put on training him along the lines of industry for which his services were in the greatest demand in the South. . . . I believe this period serves to point out many weak points in our effort to elevate the Negro, and that we are now taking advantage of the mistakes that were made. . . . What is needed is to apply these lessons bravely and honestly in laying the foundation upon which the Negro can stand in the future and make himself a useful, honorable, and desirable citizen."[1]

[1] Washington, *The Future of the American Negro,* 10-15.

Strong Bond of Friendship at Close of War

Of the Reconstruction Period Mr. Page says: "When the war closed the friendship between the races was never stronger; the relations were never more closely welded. Each recognized and appreciated the good in the other. "The majority of the slaves heard of their freedom first from their own masters. . . . The joy with which the slaves hailed emancipation did not relax the bonds of affection between them and their former masters and owners. There was, of course, much disorganization and no little misunderstanding. The whites, defeated and broken, but unquelled and undismayed, were unspeakably sore; the Negroes, suddenly freed and facing an unknown condition, were naturally in a state of excitement. But the transition was accomplished without an outbreak or an outrage . . . or even few incidents of ill temper on either side. This was reserved for a later time when a new poison had been instilled into the Negro's mind and had begun to work. . . .

Negroes Deserted Fields

"For years after the war many of the older Negroes, men and women, remained the faithful guardians of the white women

and children of their dead masters' families. . . . The first pressing necessity in the South was to secure the means of living, for in sections where the armies had been the country was swept clean and in all sections the entire labor system was disorganized. . . . In most instances the old masters informed their servants that their homes were open to them, and if they were willing to remain and work, they would do all in their power to help them. But to remain, in the first radiant holiday of freedom, was, perhaps, more than could be expected of human nature, and most of the blacks went off for a while, though later a large number of them returned. In a little while the country was filled with an army of occupation. The Negro, moved by curiosity, the novelty, and mainly by the love of the rations which the government immediately began to distribute, not unnaturally flocked to the posts of the local garrison, leaving the fields unworked and the crops to go to destruction."[1]

False Anticipations of Negroes

These unworked lands were declared "abandoned lands," and in some places they were given by government officials to

[1] Page, *The Negro: The Southerner's Problem*, 28-30, 188, 192.

the Negroes who retained possession of them. The idea became widespread that the government intended to divide the land of the whites among the Negroes and the belief became current that every Negro was to receive "forty acres and a mule."

Mutual Mistakes

The antagonism felt by the white people toward each other, North and South, manifested itself in their different opinions in regard to existing conditions in the South and how they should be met. The North believed the Negro was, or might be made, the actual equal of the white. The South held that he was not; and that, suddenly released from slavery, he must, to prevent his becoming a menace and a burden, be controlled and compelled to work. In their warring efforts almost every possible mistake was made by North and South, white and black.

Freedmen's Bureau

The Freedmen's Bureau came into the South with almost unlimited authority, backed by the United States army and treasury. "It made laws, executed them, and interpreted them; it laid and collected taxes; defined and punished crime; maintained and used military force; and dictated such measures as it thought neces-

sary and proper for the accomplishment of its varied ends."[1] Its chief purpose, in fact only purpose, was to care for the freedman and advance his interests, and to that end all its legislative, judicial, and executive powers were exercised, usually without regard to the interests of the white population. Through its influence the Union League was formed among the Negroes—an organization whose inflammatory teaching consolidated the Negro race against the white and whose bitter fruit still survives.

Carpetbagger and Scalawag

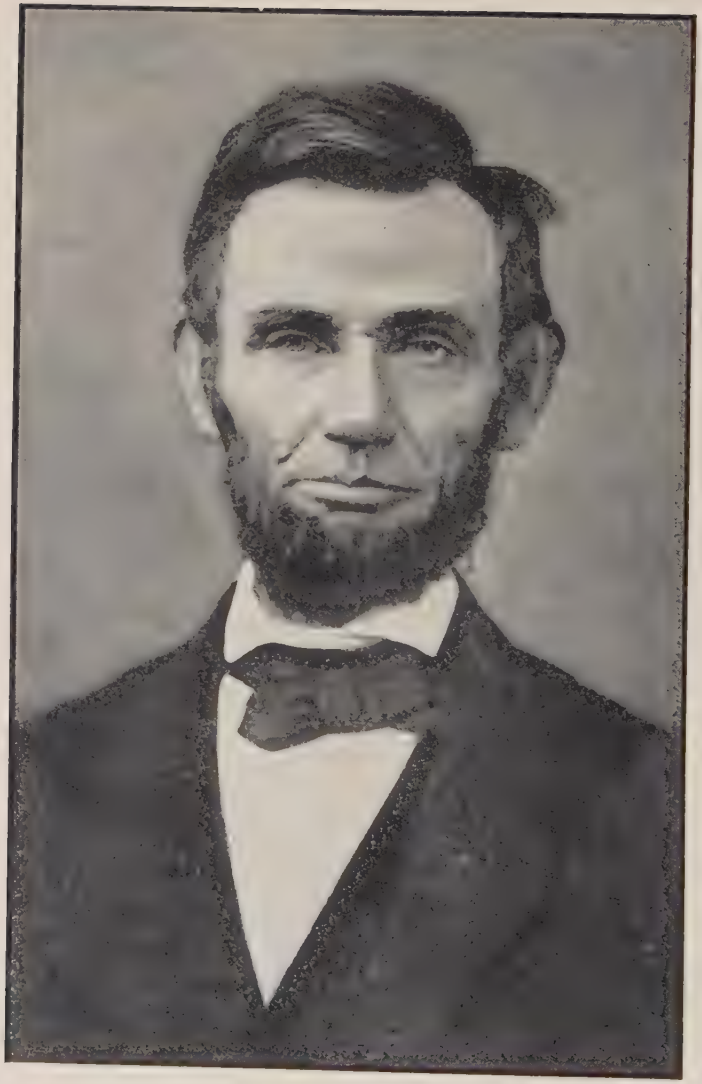
Then came the postbellum politicians—"carpetbagger" and "scalawag"[2]—who made the Negroes the instruments by which they enriched themselves. Their opportunity was the Fifteenth Amendment—now generally acknowledged North and South a national blunder—which enfranchised a great mass of ignorant blacks and disfranchised the most intelligent and conservative class of whites; their power was the Federal army.

Eight Disastrous Years

The eight years following, known as the Reconstruction Period, possibly cost the

[1] "The Negro Common School," *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1901.

[2] The "carpetbagger" came from the North, the "scalawag" was a mean Southern white man.



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ABRAHAM LINCOLN

South more than the four years of war cost her.[1] When these eight years of Negro domination under carpetbag leaders had passed, the public indebtedness of the Southern States had increased about fourfold. While the property values in all the States had shrunk, in those which were under Negro rule they had fallen to less than half what they had been when the South entered upon that period. The South does not hold that the Negro race was primarily responsible for this travesty of government. Few reasonable men now charge the Negroes at large with more than ignorance and an invincible faculty for being "worked on." But the consequences were not the less disastrous.

The Negro Mistaught

"The injury to the whites was not the only injury caused by the reconstruction system. To the Negro, the object of its bounty, it was no less a calamity. He was taught that the white man (Southern) was his enemy, when he should have been taught to cultivate his friendship. He was told he was the equal of the white man, when he was not; that he was the ward of the nation, when he should have been trained to self-

[1] Page, *The Negro: The Southerner's Problem*, 45.

reliance; that the government would sustain him, when he could not be sustained. In legislation he was taught thieving; in politics to slavishly follow his leaders; in private life he was taught insolence. . . . To these teachings may be traced most of the misfortunes of the Negro race, and indeed of the whole South since the war."[1]

Lincoln's Plan

It is but just to say that throughout the North there was a large element who favored Lincoln's plan of reconstruction,[2] which, if his foul assassination had not prevented, he would have carried out, and thereby added a still greater luster to his name in securing a complete restoration of the Union without destroying a part of it.

Some True Soldiers

Among those who came South as officers in the army there were some who—true soldiers—came in obedience to orders, but with no desire to injure the South in obeying those orders. They honestly and earnestly sought to do their duty by all, white and black. The difficulties and perplexities surrounding them were great, not the least

[1] Page, *The Negro: The Southerner's Problem*, 47, 48.

[2] Lincoln's plan would have restored the seceded States to their former status in the Union under the Constitution. In the plan adopted by congress, those States were regarded as a conquered province, and military occupation was deemed necessary to quell any possible attempt at revolution.

being that their presence was resented by the whites, their sympathy was imposed upon by the blacks, and any attempt to deal justly between them excited suspicion of their loyalty. These sometimes received undeserved retaliation from the whites for the misdeeds of others which they had not endorsed.

Negro the Shuttlecock

It must also be said that while the wisest and best men of the South counseled conservative action, there were many whose losses and wrongs stung them to reckless resistance. Attempts at coercive legislation and private efforts to retrieve the situation proved alike their impotence and their bitterness. Mistakes and errors seemed the order of the day on both sides, and the Negro was the shuttlecock between their battledores—now tossed high in the air, now struck down to the ground. He was too ignorant to rule, yet he deserved a citizen's rights. The wonder is that he should have come out of this political strife as well as he did.

Negro not Ready for Full Citizenship

The process used in making the recently emancipated freedman into a citizen reversed all natural order and logical sequence. It was like demanding foliage,

flower, and fruit of a newly planted root, in expecting results before causes were set in motion to produce them. Looking back over the forty years that have passed, we might in the light of the present laugh over those "first days" as a farce, if it were not that its tragedy makes us weep.

Ignorance in Power

Our civilization finds not only its unit in the home, but its character is based upon it. Our form of government to be successful requires, though it does not always find, intelligence in the people from whom its power emanates, statesmanship in its legislators, integrity in its executive officers, and a pure judiciary. Ere the Negro could make a home and learn to fulfil the duties of a free husband and father, before he had time to gain the rudiments of an education, while he was yet ignorant of the Constitution (except the Thirteenth Amendment) and the existing laws of the nation and the state, he had forced upon him, not only the right to vote, but was himself placed in high official position in municipal and state governments, where he must make laws and administer them, where he must preside over the courts and render judicial decisions. And this power was to be exer-

cised not over himself alone, but over a race accustomed to self-government and to governing their new rulers.

Travesty of Negro Control

For eight years a number of Southern states were partly, and three of them were wholly, given up to Negro control. The Negro was invested with absolute power and turned loose, with the strength of the Federal army back of him, always to be exercised in his favor and against the protesting white man. "What was the result? Such a riot of folly and extravagance, such a travesty of justice, such a mummery of government as was never before witnessed." Governor Chamberlain, of South Carolina, though representing the policy and authority of the North, declared: "The civilization of the Puritan and Cavalier, of the Round Head and the Huguenot, is in peril."

Causes that Produced Conditions

A condition such as is described could have been made possible only (1) by his numbers and the disfranchisement of almost the entire Southern white voters; (2) the bitter political partizanship that sought to punish the South and use the Negro as a whip, and allowed unprincipled men to use that whip to gorge themselves with the re-

sults of his fraud and thievery; and (3) the Army of Occupation.[1]

Franchise a Mistake

That the Negro, so handicapped by his own ignorance and these demoralizing influences, would prove an undesirable, even dangerous ruling element, was a foregone conclusion, and, as time has passed, has served to emphasize the mistake of those who added the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution so soon after emancipation. The general opinion of dispassionate men, even many of those who had a part in it, has come to regard it as untimely. The most intelligent leaders of the Negro race now coincide with this view. The franchise might well have waited for his own sake until the freedman had acquired the knowledge to use it creditably to himself.

Negro Rule Crumbled

The carpetbag politicians disappeared with the Army of Occupation and the Freedmen's Bureau, and then Negro rule crumbled. But, alas! the Negro had to stay and bear the burden of the mistakes of all these, and to become the subjective and objective victim of the race hatred they had engendered. It did not take long for the white race to regain the supremacy

[1] A term applied to the Federal forces stationed in the South at that time.

to which they claimed the right and to reorganize the whole system of state government.

Illegal Measures Employed

That drastic, illegal measures were used in many instances to secure this is an undisputed fact. For this, explanation was given in the oft-repeated terse proverbs, "Necessity knows no law," and "Self-preservation is the first law of life." The general feeling was expressed in the statement, "This is war, not politics," and after-history shows that they recognized the true situation. This is borne out by the remarkably frank articles by Carl Schurz, recently published in *McClure's Magazine* under the captions of "First Days of Reconstruction," and "The Repudiation of Johnson's Policy."

Negro Disfranchised

Later, many of the states held conventions that adopted new Constitutions which by their educational qualifications virtually disfranchised the great mass of Negro voters who were illiterate. If this has proved an incentive to education among the blacks it has given them an advantage over the illiterate whites of the exempt class who are left without such incentive.

Dr. G. Stanley Hall in his pamphlet,

Dr. G. Stanley Hall

"The Negro in Africa and America," says: "After the war the majority at the North continued the policy of giving the Negro the ballot, which Lincoln disapproved and which had been persistently refused him in many Northern states. It was given, if not as a penalizing measure to those lately in rebellion, at least as a weapon to safeguard the freedom of these new wards of the nation. Then followed the eight years beginning with 1867, so tragic for the South, involving enormous waste and confusion, an indebtedness equaling the entire cost of the war plus the value of the slaves as property, negroizing more or less one third of the States of the Union until they seemed to be on the downward path toward conditions like those of Hayti, San Domingo, or Porto Rico.

Negroes Arrayed Against Old Masters

"Whatever allegiance and friendship the Negroes had felt for their old masters was transferred to their new Northern allies. For myself, as abolitionist both by conviction and descent, I wish to confess my error of opinion in those days; and I believe that all candid minds who, in Kelly Miller's trenchant phrase, study rather than discuss the problem, and are not too

old to learn, are ready to confess mistakes. Even the Freedmen's Bureau helped to make the colored man at the South feel dependent upon the North rather than upon his own efforts. Much as the New South has done to outgrow these evils, perhaps the worst effect of all these years is now seen in the fact that Southern Negroes are a solidified party arrayed against their old masters on all questions, and cannot divide freely among themselves even on local and economic problems, or follow their old interests, but the party and color line still coincide."

Conditions Affected Whole Life of Negro

All that has been said has related to the political rather than the industrial, social, and religious aspects of the freedman's condition. Yet slow indeed would we be in noting cause and effect in the moral world, if we failed to see how the facts stated affected the whole life of the Negro in the nation.

Freedom Meant License and Idleness

Let be said against slavery what may be said, it at least taught industrial habits and obedience to law, and prohibited many of the grosser vices. With its restraints taken away, every form of vice became rampant. Drunkenness, gambling, stealing, lying, and

sensuality found opportunity and encouragement never known before. To the majority freedom meant license and idleness. Work of any kind was regarded as an expression of slavery.

War Destroyed Church Privileges

The Negroes had either shared the Church privileges of the white people, or had them provided by the whites. They now suffered the same deprivation of those privileges that the white people did when the reckless hand of war destroyed the churches, or turned them into barracks or hospitals; or when the pastor or missionary became the chaplain or soldier. In some places where the federal forces had not entered, the plantation missions were kept up during the war, and the Negro preacher continued his exhortations and Christian mistresses their ministrations. But gradually the whole land lay vanquished and desolate, and white and black suffered alike for a while in the loss of the ordinary religious ministry. The poverty of the white people made it scarcely possible now to support churches for themselves, and all missionary work was necessarily suspended, and this was at the very time when the Negro's temptation was greatest

to break away from all religious restraints and indulge in sinful excesses.

Younger Negroes Swept Away by Sin

The older Christians among the Negroes saw and deplored the fact that, while they held fast to their Christian profession, the younger and less established in the ways of righteousness were being swept away in the current of sin. As one old mother expressed it: "My chilluns is a-breakin' my heart while dey's doin' dey best to kill dey own souls. Dey won't listen to me, nor to Brer' Sam'ul, and when I ax ole Miss' ter talk ter um lak what she uster, dey won't listen ter her nuther, and ole Marster he can't do nothing nuther. Me an ole Miss' we des prays for um, kaze dat's all we kin do."

Christian Efforts Thwarted

To these faithful ones, white and black, who sought in every way to stay the mad rush of the weaker element into destruction, belong the praise of preserving that which was best to the race through this time of trial and temptation. "To them shall be given a crown of life." In line with the work formerly done among their own slaves, Sunday-schools were opened in many places by devout men and women, evangelistic services were held when pos-

sible, and efforts were made to induce the Negroes to attend. But as the days went by and distrust and insolence grew among the younger Negroes, these efforts were unavailing. Strange to say, sometimes they were objected to by some Southern white people, who also had come in turn to feel bitter resentment and distrust toward the Negroes.

Experience a Corrective

It is hard for any one who did not see and grieve over it to understand the condition of the poor black people during the first period following the war. Those who did, though suffering with and from them, can scarcely restrain their tears to-day when the memory of it rises before them. They have by virtue of these memories a better understanding of some of the things of to-day than have those, North and South, who did not see this part of the Negro's history, and know what was in his past.

Unprepared for Responsibility

Cared for in every respect as slaves, guided in their work, provided with all the necessaries of life, nursed in sickness, protected from labor and hardships in childhood and age, how could the Negroes, in a moment, as it were, know as freedmen how

to do all these things for themselves? The land was filled with wandering vagrants, who either would not work, or who followed those who refused to do so. Family ties were sundered by them, either from indifference or necessity, far widely and more frequently than during the days of slavery.

Hunger, Sickness and Sorrow

They had no home, and often their only shelter was a crude shed, while frequently they lay in the open field, weary pilgrims seeking they knew not what. Clothing grew so ragged as scarcely to cover the nakedness of their emaciated bodies; disease unattended to, with no money for physician or medicine, carried off thousands, especially children and delicate women reared as house servants. Deluded with impossible promises, they hoped for wealth as a part of freedom. Their disappointment was practically expressed by one who said: "I thought when I got free I'd hev a big white house an' do lak Missus did. I'd hev a fine silk dress a-trailin' on de carpet, all trimmed up wid lace, an' er mahogamy table, a-shinin' wid silver. But freedom ain't meant nuffin ter me yit but sickness an' hunger an' sorrer, an' instid of

workin' my main bizness has been a-burrin of my dead."

Necessity Drove to Work

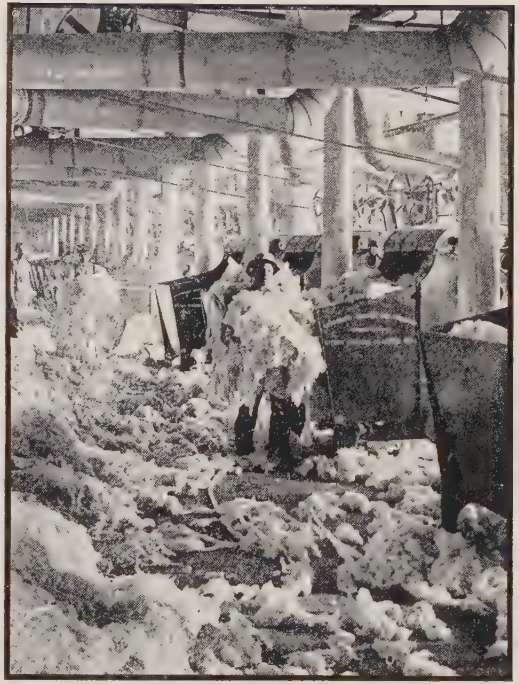
The outcome of their baseless hopes at the time was temporary pauperism for the mass, but there were many who did not "lose their heads," but went steadily on working for wages, or "on shares," and by their industry, honesty, and thrift secured a competency and retained the respect of the white people. Their number constantly increased as the first wild excitement wore off and necessity drove back to work some who had been vagrants.

Dishonesty in Control

It did not help either of these classes to see the worst men of their race becoming the great men set up in the high places and clothed with political and judicial power, "spreading like a green bay tree." It was an unsafe object-lesson that taught many that "dishonesty is its own reward;" while of those poor tools of the "carpet-bag" politician it might well have been said, "Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad."

Desolation of War

The war-desolated South is thus described by Carl Schurz: "My travels in the South in the summer and fall of 1865 took me over the track of Sherman's march.



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COTTON FIELD, GEORGIA

. . . . It looked for many miles a broad, black streak of ruin and desolation—fences gone, lonesome smokestacks surrounded by dark heaps of ashes and cinders, marking the spot where human habitations had stood, the fields along the road wildly overgrown by weeds, with here and there a sickly looking patch of cotton or corn, cultivated by Negro squatters. Even those regions which had been touched but little or not at all by military operations were laboring under dire distress. . . . Confederate money had become worthless. Only a few individuals of more or less wealth had been fortunate enough to save, and keep throughout the war, small hoards of gold and silver. . . . The people may be said to have been without a ' circulating medium ' to serve in the ordinary transactions of business. . . . United States money could not be had for anything; it could only be obtained by selling something for it in the shape of goods or of labor. . . . They had of course very little to sell . . . and needed all their laboring capacity to provide for the wants of the next day. . . .

" The whole agricultural labor system

Agriculture at a Standstill

was turned upside down. Many of the Negroes, especially in the neighborhood of towns or of Federal encampments, very naturally yielded to the temptation of testing and enjoying their freedom by walking away from the plantations to frolic. . . . In various parts of the South the highways and byways were alive with ' foot-loose ' colored people. . . . They stayed away from the plantations just when their labor was most needed to secure the crops of the season, and those crops were more than ordinarily needed to save the population from continued want and misery. Violent efforts were made by white men to drive the straggling Negroes back to the plantations by force, and reports of bloody outrages inflicted upon colored people came from many quarters. . . . The total overturning of the whole labor system of a country accomplished suddenly without preparation or general transition, is a tremendous revolution, a terrible wrench, well apt to confuse men's minds. . . . It was indeed an appalling situation, looking in many respects almost hopeless." [1]

Southern People Financially Embarrassed

From this description it is a patent fact

[1] Schurz, "First Days of Reconstruction," *McClure's Magazine*, May, 1908.

that the Southern people were powerless to aid in a financial way the poverty-stricken black population. Other circumstances as completely hindered them from aiding them in other ways.

Missionary Work a Delicate Task

Into this rupture of the whole life of the land, involving the poverty and suffering of both races, came the first missionaries from the North to " seek and to save " the Negro. Theirs was a delicate task, and the way to its accomplishment was one that an angel might well hesitate to tread. Some of them were wise as well as godly, and were a blessing to the Negroes in their Christlike work, and good results attended their labors. To these men and women all praise be given. " Many shall rise up in that day and call them blessed." The pity is that these wise, understanding ones were not the type of all, and the pity is still greater that the prejudice aroused by the unwise should have extended to them also, and that even yet many of the Southern people do not discriminate between the two classes. That justice may be done to both sides, some explanations are needed of this painful state of feeling and its unfortunate results.

Existing Conditions Misunderstood

Many of these teachers had been bitterly prejudiced against the exslave-owners by inflammatory literature and addresses of agitators and by the pitiful exaggerations of fugitive slaves, and verily they would have thought they did God's service if they might have punished the "oppressors" still more severely. They had no appreciative knowledge of the race traits or the characteristics of the Negro. They did not realize his primitive condition nor the long hard process of evangelizing and civilizing him, therefore they could not know how much had been accomplished for him by the Southern white people. They thought of the Negro as a Caucasian with a black skin who had been robbed of his possessed rights and brutally treated, and all his ignorance and sin and misery were laid at the door of the white man. Taking no account of the recent terrible cataclysm through which both races had passed, they failed to recognize existing conditions as in part, at least, resulting from it.

Unwise Teaching Aroused Animosity

Sad to say, they transmitted these ideas to their pupils, young and old, in the school and in the cabin, and the tares of distrust and resentment (not purposely, it is hoped) were sown along with the good seed of the

General O. O. Howard

Gospel and the primer. These tares bore dangerous fruit in the lives and manners of the impressionable Negroes, and the white people learned from them in various unpleasant ways (possibly much exaggerated) what the missionary and teacher were saying, and they took bitter offense at such instruction. Especially was this resentment felt by the Southern women. Their land was battle-scarred, its desolate fields were filled with the unsodded graves of their dead, they had endured untold hardships during the war, and now poverty and its unaccustomed labor pressed upon many of them. They were boiling with indignation under the double rule of the army and the Negro; they were fearfully conscious of the danger that lurked at every window and door; and now it was intolerable to have those with whom they had once lived in affectionate intercourse, and upon whom as the only servant class they were still dependent, so turned against them that their presence in the home was offensive even when it could be secured.[1]

Northern Teachers Ostracized

Was it a wonder under the circum-

[1] In some instances they saw their ancestral homes and lucrative plantations confiscated and used for Negro schools, or sold for their maintenance. (See report of Gen. Howard for 1869; also Atlanta University Publications, No. 6, pp. 22, 29.) This did not tend to good feeling.

stances that the strangers were regarded as "political emissaries" (in a certain sense regarded as the anarchist is to-day), rather than as Christian missionaries? Was it wonderful that the far-famed "Southern hospitality" was not extended and the Northern teacher felt herself, as she was, socially ostracized?

Some Mistakes Unavoidable

These first missionaries saw the worst of the worst state of the Negro, and the good was overshadowed by it so that there seemed no good at all or else the good was deified. Their ignorance was felt by the South to be almost unpardonable, for it caused them to misunderstand and therefore to misrepresent causes and conditions. The truth was exaggerated, when it was bad enough, by their writing of the worst and picturing that as typical of all, and by the narration of distressing incidents as the ordinary experience. These fearful reports sent back to the North aroused there a perfect fever of sympathy for the Negro, and in many cases a greater dislike for the Southern white man. Enthusiasm ran high, and vast effort was put forth in behalf of the former slaves. Zeal quickened into action, and without waiting for the prepa-

ration of knowledge, large numbers of enthusiastic men and women were "thrust forth into the harvest." Money from the plethoric purses of the North was poured into the poverty-stricken South for the education of the Negro. Under such conditions it was impossible that mistakes should not have been made, serious mistakes, as to the character of educative work to be done and the methods best suited to the Negro race and to its present needs and future development.[1]

Valuable Lessons Learned

Thanks be to God, there was also much good wrought, and by his overruling providence he has made even some of these mistakes to work to his glory by providing valuable lessons by which better service may be rendered in the future. Not the least of these lessons is the larger knowledge of the character of the race, its needs and possibilities. This has brought disappointment to some and encouragement to others. "The Negro has been found to be neither an angel nor a devil, simply a man." The halo of the saint and martyr has been lifted from his head. Underneath his foibles and

[1] This is not written with any desire to emphasize missionary mistakes. These have occurred in the beginning of all missionary enterprises and have served as stepping-stones to better things.

weakness the kindly heart has been found. When intellect has seemed to be lacking, deep spiritual perception has been discovered, and when the classics "didn't fit," the hand has been made skilful. How to " live the common life of daily task " nobly and honestly has been found to be a lesson often needed and gained when circumstances forbade the halls of learning.

Intelligent Christian Leadership the Solution

It was hard that while his white friends were learning how to help him, the Negro should suffer from their mistakes, but slowly, ploddingly, by that help and the pressure of his own needs, he is emerging from the chaotic condition of the freedman into responsible citizenship. The greatest force in his uplift has and will come from the trained intelligence of the Christian men and women of his own race. Comparatively few, it may be, have shared in this task as yet, but that few are proving a leaven that " will leaven the whole lump."

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER III

AIM: TO UNDERSTAND THE EFFECT OF THE FIRST YEARS OF FREEDOM UPON THE NEGROES

1. What was the sentiment in the Northern and Southern States in regard to the abolition of slavery?
2. How were the early abolitionists treated in the North? Give examples.
3. What relation did slavery have to the declaration of war?
4. Why does the Negro deserve credit for his conduct during the Civil War?
5.* Was the Negro prepared for the duties of complete citizenship?
6. Name some of the false anticipations that deluded the Negroes.
7. Name some of the causes of the changed financial and industrial conditions in the South after the Civil War.
8. Describe fully the work of the Freedmen's Bureau.
9. What is the difference between a "carpet-bagger" and a "scalawag"?
10.* Name some of the mistakes that were made by both the North and the South during the Reconstruction Period.
11. In what ways was the Negro a sufferer physically and morally during the Reconstruction Period?
12.* How did the period especially effect the religious life of the Negro?
13. What mistakes were made by some missionaries from the North?
14.* How may we profit in our religious work by the mistakes of the past?

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER STUDY.—CHAPTER III

The First Years of Freedom.

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INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS

Gloucester County is the tide-water section of eastern Virginia. According to the census of 1890, Gloucester County contained a total population of 12,832, a little over one half being colored. . . . According to the public records, the total assessed value of the land in Gloucester County is $666,132. Of the total value of the land, the colored people own $87,953. The buildings in the country have an assessed valuation of $466,127. The colored people pay taxes upon $79,387 of this amount. To state it differently, the Negroes of Gloucester County, beginning about forty years ago in poverty, have reached the point where they now own and pay taxes upon one-sixth of the real estate in this county. The property is very largely in the shape of small farms, varying in size from ten to one hundred acres. A large proportion of the farms contain about ten acres.

—Booker T. Washington

Looking back through the American history of the Negroes and considering the vicissitudes of their life, the hardships some of them have endured and the resultant condition, their faithfulness in captivity, their peacefulness for two hundred years, their evolution from complete ignorance, their rapid adoption of the white man's methods, and their amiable life as a people, the fair-minded and unprejudiced student must accord them a high place among the laboring populations of the earth. As a race they have done well. As a race they are doing well. As a race they do produce criminals, so does our own; so does every race under the sun.

—Harry Stillwell Edwards

IV

INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS

Has Proved His Ability

AT the time of the Negro's emancipation there was much doubt expressed as to his ability to meet the demands of human life upon the free man. "Will he be able to feed, clothe, and shelter himself?" was the question asked. To which he has given a humble but brave answer. Since those first mad days of delirium and of license the race as a race (with exceptions of course) *has* fed and clothed and sheltered itself. This has been done by patient, ceaseless toil, with many hardships and discouragements under which the weaker element has succumbed, but which the stronger majority has borne with courageous cheerfulness.

Harlan P. Beach Quoted

Harlan P. Beach says: "The African has been stigmatized as lazy and wholly irresponsible. His laziness is the legitimate result of having nothing worth while to do. His simple wants are easily supplied, and as work under indigenous conditions can

secure him nothing more than is now in his possession, he yields before his tropical environment. This is not the case where sufficient incentive for labor exists; as witness the natives along the coast, on the great transport routes or railways in construction, and in the far interior where a work like the Stevenson Road suddenly develops surprising trustworthiness and willingness to labor."[1]

Drummond Quoted

Drummond says: "In capacity the African is fit to work, in inclination he is willing to work, and in actual experiment he has done it; so that with capital enlisted and wise heads to direct these energies, with considerate employers who will remember that these men are but children, this vast nation of the unemployed may yet be added to the slowly growing list of the world's producers."

A Host of Earnest Laborers

The African, while subjected to the conditions of American slavery, proved his ability to work with continuous regularity and in many respects intelligently. Those conditions involved compulsion and guidance, while the stimulus of reward or favor sometimes furnished an inner incentive

[1] *Geography and Atlas of Protestant Missions*, 451.

to labor. The results of this last were always marked. But when all his wants were met, with nothing to gain or to lose by a greater or lesser effort, he only worked when compelled, and escaped that compulsion whenever it was possible. Suddenly and entirely set free from this compulsion, it is not surprising that a little time was needed before he realized the compulsion of his needs as an incentive to voluntary effort. That the whole race is not yet so fully dominated by this incentive as to leave no vagrants and idlers among them is a patent fact to even the most casual observer; but to one who gives a closer study will be revealed a great host of earnest, faithful laborers whose industry is being rewarded by the full supply of life's necessities and, with many, by the accumulation of property.

Undoubted Progress

Having noted the three stages of the Negro's past life of which we have any knowledge, attention is now directed to his present condition, with its indications of undoubted progress during the half-century of his freedom.

Distribution of Negroes

As a first step in studying the present status of the Negro in America, it is well

to note the number and distribution of the race in continental United States. The twelfth census of the United States (1900) places the total number of Negroes at 8,833,994, distributed as follows:

Division	Population	Per cent. of total negro pop.
North Atlantic	385,020	4.3
South Atlantic	3,729,017	42.2
North Central	495,751	5.6
South Central	4,193,952	47.5
Western	30,254	0.3

Nearly all in the South

This table shows that 89.7 per cent. of the entire Negro population resides in the fourteen Southern States, leaving only 10.3 per cent. to be scattered over the whole of the remainder of the United States. More than half of that (5.7) are in the States of Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, and Illinois—and are largely segregated in the four large cities of those States. In thirty of the States, out of every one hundred people, only three are Negroes; and in eighteen of these States there are less than one to the hundred; while in two Southern States there are more than fifty-eight Negroes to forty-two whites, and in none of them does the pro-

portion fall below nineteen in every hundred, except in Kentucky.

Marvelous Growth in Population

In 1880 there were 6,580,793 Negroes in this country. In twenty years there was an increase of 34.2 per cent. The race has not merely maintained its numbers but shows a marvelous growth. Since the census of 1900 was published nearly another decade has passed, and calculating the increase in the Negro population to be in the same ratio as in past decades the number is now estimated to be not less than 10,000,000.

Percentage in Cities and Country

The Negroes, constituting about one ninth of the total population, form only about one fifteenth of the urban population and more than one seventh of the rural population. They are relatively less numerous in the large cities than in the towns. Among the five Southern cities having at least 100,000 inhabitants, the highest per cent. of Negroes is found at Memphis (48.8), Washington (31.1), New Orleans (27.1), Louisville (19.1), and Baltimore (15.6). In a group of Southern cities having between 25,000 and 100,000 there are four having a higher per cent. than any of these—ranging from 51.8 to

57.1. In Baton Rouge, Louisiana, it is 58.5. Twelve cities in Georgia having between 4,000 and 8,000 inhabitants have 48.2 per cent. of their combined population Negro. Washington has a larger per cent. of Negro population than any other city in the country (86,702). They are relatively most numerous in Washington County, Mississippi, being 94.2 per cent. of the whole population. In South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana more than half of the country population is Negro. This distribution varies according to local conditions, and as time goes on there is a growing increase of Negroes in the larger cities. Since the census of 1900 there may be a very material difference in these figures. But the trend of the Negro in the South to the city is less than that of the white race.

"The Southerner's Problem"

A glance at the figures showing the distribution of the Negro race in the United States demonstrates that whatever problem his presence presents, it is primarily "the Southerner's problem," and must be worked out in the South. Those figures also demonstrate the fact that after forty years of free access to other parts of the

country and with no restraints upon his movements the Negro has chosen as a race to remain in the South. That he has so chosen is proof that the social and economic conditions in the South are such as make it more desirable for him to remain there than to go elsewhere.

The Negro's Opportunity in the South

Edgar Gardiner Murphy says, in his *Problems of the Present South:* "The broad and living decisions of great masses of men possess a dumb but interesting significance. They are never wholly irrational or sentimental. The Negro remains at the South because among the primary and the secondary rewards of honest life, he gets more of the primary rewards at the South than at the North. . . . The Negro at the South is preacher, teacher, physician, and lawyer; he is in the dry goods business, the grocery, the livery, the real estate, and the wood and coal business; as well as in the business of running errands and blacking boots. He is a shoemaker and carpenter and blacksmith. He is where there is anything to do, and if he can do it well, he is usually treated fairly and paid for it honestly. Except in professional capacities and as an undertaker he

is employed by all—white and black—he does business with all. The South gives to the Negro something more merciful than sentiment and something more necessary than the unnegotiable abstractions of social rights. The South gives to him the best gift of a civilization to an individual—the opportunity to live industriously and honestly.

Discrimination in North

"The race prejudice in the North first forbids to the Negro the membership of the labor union, and then forbids to the employer the services of non-union labor.[1] If the employer turn wholly to non-union men, he finds that rather than work beside the Negro these usually throw down their tools and walk out of the door of factory or shop. And so the dreary tale proceeds. The Negro at the North can be a waiter in hotel and restaurant (in some); he can be a butler or footman in club or household (in some); or the hair-cutter or boot-black in the barber shop (in some); and I say 'in some' because even

[1] The American Federation of Labor in its constitution forbids the exclusion of any one on account "of creed, color, sex, nationality, or politics," but many National and Local Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor do exclude Negroes by constitutional provision. At this time, however, there are a larger number of Negro members of trade-unions than ever before.

the more menial offices of industry are being slowly but gradually denied to him. And what is the opportunity of such an environment to the development of self-dependence, what is the value to his labor of so inadequate and restricted a market for the complex capacities and the legitimate ambitions of an awakening manhood? . . . What are the possibilities, there, of self-respect, of decency, of hope? What are the possibilities of bread?

Opportunity to Earn Honest Bread

"The economic problem lies at the very heart of the social welfare of any race. The possibility of honest bread is the noblest possibility of a civilization; and it is the indispensable condition of thrift, probity, and truth. No people can do what is right or love what is good if they cannot earn what they need. . . . The South has sometimes abridged the Negro's right to vote, but the South has not yet abridged his right in any direction of human interest or of honest effort to earn his daily bread . . . this lies at the very basis of life and integrity—whether individual or social."[1]

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in his pam-

[1] Murphy, *Problems of the Present South*, 184, 185, 187.

Northern Cities Destroy Negro

phlet, "The Philadelphia Negro, A Sociological Study," describes how the slow, silent, pitiless operation of the social and economic forces are destroying the Negro body and soul in the Northern city.

Possibility of Earning Greater in South

The Principal of Tuskegee says on this subject: "It is in the South that the black man finds an open sesame in labor, industry, and business that is not surpassed anywhere. It is here that that form of slavery which prevents a man from selling his labor to whom he pleases on account of his color is almost unknown. We have had slavery in the South, now dead, that forced an individual to labor without a salary, but none that compelled a man to live in idleness while his family starved. . . . If the Negro would spend a dollar at the opera, he will find the fairest opportunity at the North; if he would earn the dollar, his fairest opportunity is at the South. The opportunity to earn the dollar fairly is of much more importance to the Negro just now than the opportunity to spend it at the opera."

Importance of Realizing Progress

When we consider the great host of Negroes living in our land, and which will surely become greater, and how they are

affecting now and will affect still more in the future the life and civilization of our country, it becomes a matter of vital interest to the whole nation, and especially the South, to know, beside its growth in numbers, what has been the progress of this race in other matters.

Poverty of Laboring Class Universal

Much has been said about the white South hindering the progress of the Negro, based upon circumstances long since passed, upon insufficient knowledge of his present status, and upon half-truths greatly exaggerated by unconvinced and unconvincible prejudice. Not enough consideration has been given to certain similar conditions that exist in every country and among other races. The struggle between capital and labor, with its contrast between the rich and the poor; the usual features of poverty, ignorance, disease, and sin; the inefficient laborer and the unemployed, are problematic conditions and their manifestations are to be found in the North without reference to race. In the South the Negroes for the most part do the common, rough labor and, although the demand for skilled labor is growing ever greater, the vast majority of them remain

unskilled laborers. These, as everywhere, receive low wages, and they form a large number of the unemployed that will not or cannot work. These conditions tend to poverty of the laboring class everywhere.

Rapid Economic Progress

Putting aside all preconceived ideas of the Negro's handicap in the South, let a few simple statements of his economic progress speak for themselves, and decide if it is fair to the Negro or his "brother in white" to continue to represent him as "evil-entreated" or "a debased, poverty-stricken people." These will show that, as a laboring class, he is as industrious, capable, and successful and his condition as good as that of any similar class in any other country. That the mass of the race falls below its best is just as true of him as of others, but from the mass is gradually developing a larger and larger number of the better and the best classes—more rapidly than in any country in Europe—vastly more rapidly than in some of them.

South not Opposed to Negro's Progress

Booker T. Washington, when asked if the white man in the South wanted the Negro to improve his present condition, answered promptly, "Yes." And after

citing instances manifesting their interest in the Negro's education and progress, says: "Such marks of the interest in the education of the Negro on the part of the Southern white people can be seen almost every day. Why should the white people, by their presence, words, and many other things, encourage the black man to get education, if they do not desire him to improve his condition?"[1] Again he says: "While race prejudice is strongly exhibited in many directions, in the matter of business, of commercial and industrial development, there is very little obstacle in the Negro's way. . . . Exaggerated reports are written by newspaper men, who give the impression that there is a race conflict throughout the South, and that all Southern white people are opposed to the Negro's progress, overlooking the fact that while in some sections there is trouble, in most parts of the South there is a very large measure of peace, good-will, and mutual helpfulness."[2]

Occupation

In 1860 all of the Negroes of working age and in health were engaged in some kind of occupation, the gains of which were

[1] Washington, *The Future of the American Negro*, 236, 237.

[2] Ibid., 207.

equal to their maintenance in all the necessaries of life. This we have seen extended to such as were not capacitated for labor on account of age and sickness. The census of 1900 gives the whole number of Negroes over ten years of age as 6,415,581, and the number over ten years of age engaged in gainful occupations as 3,992,337. There are twenty-seven occupations that each give employment to more than 10,000.[1] In all other occupations there were only 185,329. No statement is made of the number unemployed. Fifty-two per cent. of the whole specified under different heads, were engaged in agriculture, and of the half million "laborers" (not specified) it is probable that many were agricultural laborers.

Encouraging Progress

"Of those engaged in agriculture, nineteen per cent. were farmers, planters, and overseers. These have risen from a low level to a higher level in their occupation and in American civilization. I might show how the Negro agricultural laborer of exceptional ability has become share tenant, then cash tenant, then part owner, and finally full owner with almost light-

[1] Strong, *Social Progress*, 1906, 174.

St. Paul Normal and Industrial School,
Lawrenceville, Virginia

Farmers' Conference, Lawrenceville, Virginia

ning rapidity and against fearful odds. . . . In the South Central States since 1860 Negro farmers have come to operate as owners and managers 95,624 farms and as tenants 348,805. . . . In forty years 287,933 Negroes have acquired control of farming lands in the South Atlantic States, of whom 85,355 are owners or managers. The total value of Negro farm property is conservatively estimated at $230,000,000. These facts spell progress unmistakably.'' [1]

Value of Farm Equipment

To this value of farm lands Bishop Arnett adds the value of live stock and farming implements, which he estimates to be worth $4,941,235. The acreage owned in Georgia and Virginia alone he gives as 2,107,438 acres.[2] The United States census places the total number of acres owned and partly owned by Negroes at 15,996,098. Many farms are very small and the soil poor and unproductive.

Domestic Servants

We find that next to agriculture the occupations which give employment to the largest number of Negroes are the kindred ones of servants and waiters, launderers and laundresses, housekeepers and stew-

[1] Strong, *Social Progress*, 1906, 174.
[2] Ibid., 175.

ards, janitors and sextons. These combined claim 708,470. Of course this covers many grades of work, yet in the main they may be classed as domestic service. There is a great falling off in the efficiency of household servants since emancipation, and as the years go by this inefficiency increases. The cause of this is readily explained by contrasting the fine training given by antebellum mistresses in all domestic industries, authoritatively enforced, with the present day total lack of training of girls and boys in their own poor home surroundings or in the households where they are temporarily employed by those who are unwilling to bestow time and trouble upon those who may leave their service at any hour. It is a rare occurrence when a white person, male or female, goes into domestic service in the South.

Mine and Mill Employees

About 85,000 Negroes are employed as miners and quarrymen, saw and planing-mill employees, tobacco and cigar factory operatives. These are practically the only employments of this class open to them except canning factories. In textile and other mills where machinery demands reg-

ular attendance and regulates the movements, they are not considered desirable employees. The reasons stated are that "they do not feel the obligation to work if inclination leads them to take a holiday, and they are rarely capable of the sustained attention and regularity of motion required by machinery." However just these reasons may be, the fact that they are not so employed works to the benefit of the race in that many who might be working in the unhealthy conditions of the cotton-mills are now in the open field, and their children are saved from the evils of child-labor which these present, and thus have "time for school and play," of which hundreds of white children of their age are being deprived.

Females in Gainful Occupations

In 1900 the census reports 1,316,840 Negro females engaged in gainful occupations. Of girls between ten and fifteen nearly one third are at work, between sixteen and twenty-four nearly one half, between twenty-five and sixty-four about two out of every five. "These figures show clearly that in the case of Negro women marriage does not withdraw them from the field of gainful occupations to any-

thing like the extent that it does white women. . . . A good part of the class between twenty-five and sixty-four must have been married, as sixty-eight and three-tenths per cent. of all Negro women between those ages were reported as married."[1]

Employment of Mothers Affects Children

This last fact has a decided effect upon the home life and the rearing of children, since in a majority of cases the woman breadwinner must leave her home, or else her time is so occupied at home as to hinder her from giving the attention required to keep her house and children in right condition. It is also sadly true that in many instances the man of the family eats "the bread of idleness" that has been earned by the overworked wife or mother. And in some still sadder cases the idle man in the home is not a legal husband and holds himself in no wise responsible for the support of the family.

Women in Agriculture

A large number of Negro women are engaged in agricultural pursuits, that is, they are employed on the large plantations as cotton pickers, either directly by the owner or as helpers of fathers and hus-

[1] United States Census, 1900, Bulletin No. 8,

bands who are "share tenants." A much larger number of women than men are engaged in domestic service, the latter being able to secure more remunerative employment in other lines.

Nurses and Midwives

The census for 1900 reports 19,431 Negroes employed as nurses and midwives, the number having increased more than threefold during the decade, and nearly twice as fast as the whites. The position of nurse offers a large sphere of usefulness to Negro women who are properly trained for the profession, though they do not often receive the high wages of the white nurse. The cost of the latter makes the demand still greater for intelligent secondary Negro nurses for the invalid and convalescent. Southern white women are seeking also more and more for their children the care of reliable trained women who may somewhat take the place of the old-time black "Mammy" of blessed memory.

Dressmakers and Seamstresses

The number of dressmakers and seamstresses is stated to be 24,106. Twice that number could find employment at good wages if the character of their work was better. With but few exceptions it is care-

lessly and roughly done and presents an untidy appearance. If the teachers of sewing classes in industrial schools required a higher standard of work it would be greatly to the future financial advantage of their pupils.

Mechanical Trades

Mechanical trades claim 57,926 as carpenters and joiners, brick and stone masons, blacksmiths, iron and steel workers. There was a marked decrease in the first-mentioned in the decade of 1890 and 1900. In some trades the labor unions have excluded the Negroes in the South, but not to the extent that they have in the North, though it is feared that this will be extended in the future and may drive them out of many trades.

Progress Despite Disadvantages

" After emancipation came suddenly, in the midst of war and social upheaval, the first real economic question was the self-protection of freed working-men. There were three classes of them: the agricultural laborers, chiefly in the country districts; the house servants, in town and country; and the artisans, who were rapidly migrating to town. . . . These last met peculiar conditions. They had always been used to working under the guardian-

ship of a master, and even though that guardianship in some cases was but nominal, yet it was of the greatest value for protection. . . . When he set up business for himself . . . he could not bring suit in the name of an influential white master; if there was a contract to be made there was no responsible white patron to answer for the good performance of the work. . . . At first the friendly patronage of the former master was given the freedman and for some time the Negro mechanic held undisputed sway. Three occurrences, however, soon disturbed the situation: (1) the competition of white mechanics, (2) the efforts of the Negro for self-protection, (3) the new industrial development of the South. . . . The Negro mechanic did not carelessly throw away his large share of the Southern labor market and allow the white mechanic to supplant him. To be sure, the exslave was not alert, quick, and ready to meet competition. His business hitherto had been to *do* work, but not to *get* work, save in exceptional cases. As the white mechanic pressed forward, the only refuge of the Negro mechanic was lower wages. Even

in this he could not wholly succeed. The new industrial conditions made new demands on the mechanic which the Negro was not able to meet. . . . He was ignorant in those very lines of mechanical and industrial development in which the South has taken the longest strides in the last thirty years. Who was to teach him? The older Negro mechanics could not teach what they had not learned. His white fellow workmen were now his bitterest opponents because of his race and the fact that he worked at low wages. . . . And yet the Negro mechanic has had a greater success in earning a living than the conditions might lead one to expect."[1]

Skilled Workmen

The carpenters are the largest body of skilled working-men and there are 20,800 in the South. The States differ considerably in the proportion of different kinds of working-men: steam railway employees and carpenters lead in Virginia, the Carolinas, and the Gulf States; iron and steel workers outnumber all but railway men in the mining state, Alabama, and the masons and stone-cutters are numerous in Tennessee. The great Northern cities are

[1] DuBois, *The Negro Artisan*, 21-23.

conspicuous for scarcity of black artisans, while in the more typical Southern cities they are to be found in large numbers. In the Border State cities they are working in some of the important skilled occupations.

Future of Negro Artisan

It is hard to say what the future holds for the Negro artisan. In many places he is in large demand, and works at the same wages as the white man. This is said to be especially true of the State of Texas. But unfortunately in many trades they do inferior work and lose out; even many of those who have had training in industrial schools prove unequal to actual work. They do not want to "begin at the bottom and work up." Nor can the employer always depend on them. "It does not matter how anxious a contractor may be to complete the job, he [the Negro workman] feels under no obligation that will hinder him from taking 'a day off' for pleasure. That's his idea of liberty."[1]

Personal Example and Testimony

Alexander Hamilton, Jr., a Negro contractor of Atlanta, Georgia, has a flourishing business, and some of his patrons are among the best people of the city. Last year he did about $35,000 worth of work.

[1] E. H. Holmes, Prairie View Normal School, Texas.

He says: "The opportunity for wage earning for the Negro artisan is good; he is always in demand. This demand does not exist because he works for a lower wage, for as a rule they get the prevailing scale of wages. Some white contractors employ Negroes from the foreman down. He is considered a swifter worker than the white, though in many cases he shows a lack of intelligent conception of the work he is to perform and of pride in its execution. Good work, faithfulness to contract, gains a reputation that secures good wages."

Economic Coöperation

The Negroes have manifested in various ways their desire and ability for economic coöperation. Many failures have attended their efforts, but their many successes have brought not only present advantage but prophesy greater benefits for the future. This coöperative effort had its beginning where we might expect to find it—in the Church (the independent Churches established by the free Negroes in the North), and found its first expression in the Church benevolent societies. It soon made an effort to extend itself into the school, but in the early days met with much

hindrance here; later a large success has been reached. Along with the growing social consciousness of the race there has risen to large proportions the beneficial and insurance societies. "No complete account of these is possible, so large is their number and so wide their ramification. Nor can any hard and fast line between them and industrial insurance societies be drawn save in membership and extent of business. These societies are also difficult to separate from secret societies; many have more or less ritual work, and the regular secret societies do much fraternal insurance business."

Benevolent Societies

The majority of the benevolent societies are purely local and their work limited to the payment generally of from $2.50 to $5 for initiation fee and fifty cents dues monthly, and the paying out from this fund of sick dues, varying from $1.50 per week to $5, and burial expenses of the members. These societies have been organized by the hundred, and many of them serve a good purpose. They frequently have long and some of them curious names. Regalia of all kinds is worn, and the society having the most of it is generally the most

popular. Many of these have died out or been absorbed into larger societies having more of the nature and management of insurance societies. The larger Negro industrial insurance societies now operating form a list of sixty-four, with many smaller ones. If a complete report could be had of even the one State of Virginia, it would show that more than 300,000 colored men, women, and children carry some form of insurance.

True Reformers' Organization

The True Reformers constitutes probably the most remarkable Negro organization in this country. It was organized in 1881, by the Rev. William Washington Brown, an exslave, of Habersham County, Georgia, as a fraternal beneficiary institution, composed of male and female members numbering one hundred, and a capital of $150. It was to be a joint-stock company, with shares of the value of $5 each. The Grand Fountain of True Reformers is now a mutual insurance association having 2,678 fountains, or lodges, with more than 100,000 members, of whom there are now benefited in the Fountain 50,636. It has a " Rosebud Department " with more than 30,000 children. The death benefits

paid by all departments up to date have been $1,356,989, with over $1,500,000 in sick benefits. Its total annual income is put at $450,000. It has put into operation a savings-bank, with a capital stock paid in of $100,000 and a surplus fund of $95,000. It incorporated a mercantile and industrial association that conducts a system of stores doing an annual business of over $100,000 and publishes a weekly paper, *The Reformer,* that has a circulation of 19,000 copies. It has opened a hotel in Richmond that accommodates a hundred and fifty guests, has established an old folks' home, with a farm of over six hundred acres, and has incorporated a building and loan association that has as its object the encouragement of industry, frugality, home building, and saving among its members. Its real estate department has under its control twenty-seven buildings and three farms valued at $400,000, which belong to the institution, and leases twenty-three other buildings.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Societies

The total income of this class of societies cannot be far from $3,000,000, and their real estate and other capital probably amounts to $1,500,000. The chief criticism

of all these societies is the unscientific basis of their insurance business, nevertheless there are signs of improvement. "There is also wide room for peculation and dishonesty in industrial insurance. Protective legislation, especially in the South, is driving out the worst offenders, but some still remain. On the whole, however, these societies have done three things: (1) encouraged economic coöperation and confidence, (2) consolidated small capital, (3) taught business methods."[1]

Secret Societies

Among the secret societies, the Free Masons report, in 1899, 1,960 lodges with a membership of 55,713, property valued at $1,000,000, and an income of about $500,000. The Odd Fellows report, in 1904, the number of lodges as 4,643 with a membership of 285,931. Its property is valued at $2,500,000, and over $1,000,000 was spent between 1900 and 1906 in its benevolences. In 1905, the Knights of Pythias had 1,536 lodges with 69,331 members, property valued at $321,919, and in the two previous years spent in its relief work $124,146. This order has an insurance department. The United Brothers of Friendship, in

[1] Atlanta University Publications, No. 12.

1905, had a membership of about 75,000 and valued their property at $500,000, with large amounts expended in benevolence. The order of Elks did not organize until 1899, and in eight years they reported 61 lodges with 5,000 members. The Grand Order of the Galilean Fisherman was organized in 1856, and has at least $250,000 worth of real estate. Besides these there are many smaller secret societies having the same general purpose as the larger orders—the care of the sick, burial of the dead, and relief of the poor. From the figures given it seems that the Negro secret orders in the United States own between four and five million dollars worth of property and collect each year at least $1,500,000.[1]

Coöperative Benevolence

Coöperative benevolence finds its manifestation in between 75 and 100 homes and orphanages supported wholly or largely by Negroes. Some of these are well-provided for and well-managed; many of them need much in every way. There are about forty hospitals conducted by Negroes, including the Freedmen's Hospital of Washington, District of Columbia, which the

[1] Atlanta University Publications, No. 12.

government supports. Nearly every town in the South has a colored cemetery owned and conducted by Negroes, making a total of probably about 500.

Negro Banks

In 1865, the national congress incorporated the Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company. Through "speculative, indiscreet, and culpable transactions," the bank failed, in 1874, entailing disastrous losses upon the ignorant, trusting, needy Negroes amounting to over $3,000,000. After this disgraceful swindle the Negro went to banking for himself, and there are now in the United States forty-one Negro banks, many of them doing a flourishing business.

Coöperative Business

The history of coöperative business among the Negroes is long and interesting. Of some it is simply a record of failure, but failure is often educative, as it has been in this case, and leads to better, wiser effort. While there have been hundreds of coöperative business ventures of various kinds that have failed, there are hundreds that continue in operation with a measure of success.

Mound Bayou, Mississippi

Real estate and credit societies have resulted in Negro settlements in towns, some

of which have had fine success. Among these is Mound Bayou, Mississippi, which was incorporated in 1890. The town embraces about seventy-five acres of land, is well laid out, with plank walks, and has a population of 400, many living in neat homes. It is surrounded by a neighboring population of about 3,000, who occupy their own farms, ranging from 200 to 600 acres each, and comprising altogether 30,000 acres, producing a variety of crops but chiefly cotton. There are over forty business establishments, and the total value of business amounts to almost three-quarters of a million dollars. There are eleven creditable public buildings, including two graded schools.[1]

Farmers' Improvement Society

The Farmers' Improvement Society of Texas, organized by R. L. Smith, in 1890, has been of great benefit to many of the Negroes of that State. The members are pledged (1) to fight the credit or mortgage system, (2) to improve the method of farming and care of stock, (3) to coöperate in buying and selling, (4) to care for the sick and bury the dead, (5) to buy and improve homes. The effect of the movement

[1] Atlanta University Publications, No. 12.

to break up the credit system was so marked that in six years other communities were induced to accept the plan. Branches are established in about 400 different communities in Texas and Oklahoma. A great improvement has resulted in the character and conduct of the farms and homes, in agricultural fairs and lectures, and the establishment of an agricultural and industrial college.

Business Men

In five medium-sized Southern cities there are 160 Negro business men. In one of these, Houston, Texas, there are 41, with a capital of $237,450 invested in their business. Two of these, a building contractor and a real estate broker, have been in the same business for thirty years, and eleven have held their own for over fifteen years. In Richmond, Virginia, nine business men have an invested capital of $230,500.

Undoubted Progress

With such an array of facts, who can doubt the progress of the Negro in industrial life and pursuits?

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER IV

AIM: TO LEARN HOW THE NEGROES HAVE PROGRESSED INDUSTRIALLY AND ECONOMICALLY SINCE THEIR EMANCIPATION

1. What conditions of the past, in Africa, in American slavery, and the first years of freedom, has the Negro been obliged to overcome?
2. Did the Anglo-Saxon race rise suddenly?
2. How many years has it taken the Anglo-Saxon to reach his present condition?
4.* What are some of the advantages and disadvantages that the Negro has had compared with the Anglo-Saxon?
5. Why have the majority of the Negroes remained in the South?
6. Do you think that they will continue to remain in the South, and why?
7.* Compare the advantages, economically and industrially, that the Negroes have in the South and the North.
8. Where are the physical conditions more favorable?
9. To what extent can the people in the North aid in helping the Negro?
10. Why are the cities especially destructive to the physical life of the Negroes?
11. Do the cities have an equally bad effect upon the other races?
12. Do the women and children among the poor Negroes suffer any more than among the poor of other races under similar conditions?
13. In what occupations do the Negro men and women find the most employment, and why?
14. What is the chief value of the societies organized among the Negroes?

15. What are the conditions that must be considered in estimating the progress of any race?
16. Enumerate all the evidences of industrial and economic progress among the Negroes.
17.* In view of the past conditions do you believe that the Negroes have made substantial progress? State reasons.
18.* How may the Negroes make themselves more useful in the industrial and economic system of our country?
19. Sum up the chief hindrances to more rapid progress among the Negroes.
20.* What can the whites both North and South do to assist the Negroes to improve their industrial and economic conditions?

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Industrial and Economic Conditions Among the Negroes.

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[1] On this chapter and those that follow the religious periodicals and home mission magazines will be found helpful. Other publications, such as the *Southern Workman,* "Atlanta University," and "American Academy of Science," should be consulted.

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SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Thirty years ago, when I was a boy in Georgia's central city, one part of the suburbs given over to Negroes contained an aggregation of unfurnished, ill-kept, rented cabins, the occupants untidy, and for the most part shiftless. Such a thing as virtue among the female members was in but few instances conceded. Girls from this section roamed the streets at night, and vice was met with on every corner. Recently, in company with a friend who was interested in a family residing in the same community, I visited it. I found many families occupying their own homes, flowers growing in the yard and on the porches, curtains at the windows, and an air of homelike serenity overflowing the entire district. In the house we entered, the floors were carpeted, the white walls were hung with pictures, the mantels held bric-à-brac. In one room was a parlor organ, in another a sewing-machine, and in another a piano, where a girl sat at practise. In conversation with the people of the house and neighborhood, we heard good ideas expressed in excellent language and discovered that every one with whom we came in contact could read and write, while many were much further advanced. Just one generation lies between the two conditions set forth, and the change may be said to indicate the urban Negro's mental and material progress throughout the whole South. Of those who see only gloom ahead for the Negro, the question may be fairly asked, Where else in the world is there a people developing so rapidly? The men who have purchased these houses, the women who keep them, have achieved a higher standard of citizenship, and the reaction on their descendants has, so far as their influence is operative, helped to free the streets of vice. So far as this community is concerned, one great stride toward the elevation of the race has been taken and the pace set.

—Harry Stillwell Edwards

V

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

History of Home Life

THE Negro in Africa had no knowledge of a home, except as a shelter from the elements and his enemies, physical and spiritual. The home of the American slave, though often dear to him, lacked of necessity some of the essentials of a true home, yet from it and his contact with the home and home life of his owner he formed an ideal, however dim, toward which he was to struggle when his circumstances were changed. As a freedman the Negro was practically a man without a home, a people without a social form, a race without a country.

Advance in Home Life

From the crudest elements, blended of poverty and ignorance, desire and hope, he began to construct a new standard of life and form about himself certain social forms by imitating what he saw the white people have and do. Possibly he was not always able to distinguish between the good and bad examples set before him, or

chose the latter because it was easier to human nature, but he also chose in innumerable instances the best things which he has learned how to do by doing; and out of his persistent efforts a home and social life is being evolved that, far from perfect as it yet may be, shows a great advance beyond his past, a decided step in his onward way toward Christian civilization.

Moving Onward

The white man's laws and moral standards, his counsel and helping hand, have all aided the Negro in his progress, but the best part of his achievement, and that which makes it most worth while, has come through his own courageous, patient seeking for that which was best as far as he knew it. Mistakes, failures, offenses have come, as needs they must, but undismayed he is still moving onward.

Results of Home Ownership

"The white or black man, by the sweat of whose brow a home has been bought, is by virtue of that act an infinitely better citizen." The increased sense of self-respect that comes with such ownership leads to a deeper sense of obligation for the protection and maintenance of the home and the character of family life. It also brings an increased sense of responsi-

Two Houses Owned by a Negro, in One of Which He Lives.
Charleston, West Virginia

Negro Cabin

bility for the public good and of personal advantage in the preservation of law. All this is becoming more and more manifest among the better class of Negroes who are of course the home owners.

Qualifying for Political Rights

With this view of the case, it is of great importance in our study of present-day conditions to consider the growth in number and character of the homes of the Negro race. We have seen his need of such preparation for and experience in citizenship to fit him for an intelligent appreciation of not only the privilege, but the responsibility of the ballot-box. If the loss, in a large measure, of this privilege has turned his attention from politics toward home-building it was a blessing to him as well as to the country. He felt and still feels afflicted by the laws restraining his franchise, but as he comes by degrees into possession of the required qualifications, and by an intelligent use of his political rights when gained manifests his just claim to them, he will wipe out the infamy that attaches to his first deplorable effort in the political arena. In that day he will understand yet once again that "God meant it for good."

Number of Homes

We have noted the large number of farms that are owned by the Negroes, which of course in practically every instance means a home to each farm. Besides these rural homes, there are a still larger number in the towns and cities. The whole number of homes owned by Negroes is stated as 372,414. Of these 255,156 are known to be absolutely free from encumbrance. The character of these homes varies from the few handsome residences of the wealthy class, and the second-grade of neat, comfortable houses of the well-to-do laboring class, to the one-room cabin in the country or the dilapidated cottage in town or city. Comparing the number of homes of all kinds with the whole Negro population, it will be seen that the "home owner" is still a small class, and that the great mass of the race is as yet homeless or housed in rented tenements on the farm or in the city, or living in the homes of employers.

Homes as Safeguards

Booker T. Washington says: "An increasing number of Negro homes have gone along with an increasing sense of importance of the safeguards which the home throws about the family and of the house-

hold virtues which it encourages and makes possible. . . . In every Southern city there is a Negro quarter. It is often a cluster of wretched hovels, situated in the most dismal and unhealthy part of the city. They all have the same dingy, dirty, God-forsaken appearance. These are the places that are usually pointed out as the Negro homes.

Homes of the Thrifty

"But in recent years there have grown up, usually in the neighborhood of a school, small Negro settlements of an entirely different character. Most of them are modest cottages, but they are clean . . . and have a wholesome air of comfort and thrift. . . . Within you will find an air of decency and self-respect, pictures and books. . . . These are the homes of the thrifty laboring class who generally have some education. Some of them have gone through a college or industrial school, and their children are at school. . . . In the same communities you will find other homes, larger and more comfortable, many of them handsome modern buildings with all the evidences of taste and culture that you might expect to find in any other home of the same size and appearance. If you

should inquire here, you would learn that the people living in these homes are successful merchants, doctors, and teachers. . . . They are not usually recognized as Negro homes.

Some Handsome Homes

" Still handsomer houses here and there are to be found. The fact is that white men know almost nothing about this better class of homes. They know the criminals and the loafers, because they have dealt with them in the courts, or because they collect rent from the places where they congregate and live. They know to a certain extent the laboring classes whom they employ, and they know something, too, of the Negro business men with whom they have dealings; but they know almost nothing about the doctors, lawyers, teachers, and preachers, who are usually the leaders of the Negro people, the men whose opinions, teaching, and influence are, to a very large extent, directing and shaping the healthful, hopeful constructive forces in these communities.

Influence of Hampton and Tuskegee

" In the sections where the influence of such schools as Hampton and Tuskegee is felt you will find a marked growth in recent years not only in the size of the home

—rarely ever one room—but in its neat appearance within and without, having outbuildings and fences in repair and whitewashed. Notable instances of this may be seen in Gloucester County, Virginia, where a large number of Hampton students have settled, and in Alabama around Tuskegee and in Calhoun County.

White People Encouraging Negroes

"The average person who does not live in the South has the impression that the Southern white people do not like to see Negroes live in good homes. Of course there are narrow-minded white people living in the South as well as in the North and elsewhere; but as I have gone through the South, and constantly come into contact with the members of my race, I am surprised at the large numbers who have been helped and encouraged to buy beautiful homes by the best element of white people in their community. I think I am safe in saying that the sight of a well-kept, attractive home belonging to a Negro does not call for as much adverse comment in the South as it does in the Northern States."[1]

Dr. Edward Gardner Murphy in writing

[1] Washington, *Century Magazine*, May, 1908.

Wholesome Home Life

of the Negro home life says: "All promise and all attainment are worth while, but the only adequate measure of social efficiency and the only ultimate test of essential race progress lies in the capacity to create the home; and it is in the successful achievement of the idea and the institution of the family, of the family as accepted and honored under the conditions of Western civilization, that we are to seek the real criticism of Negro progress. . . . His heritage has given him but small equipment for the achievement of his task. And yet the Negro home exists. That its existence is, in many cases, but a naïve pretense, that Negro life often proceeds upon its way with a disregard—partly immoral, partly non-moral—of our accepted marital conditions, is evident enough. And yet those who would observe broadly and closely will find a patiently and persisently increasing number of true families and real homes, a number far in excess of the popular estimate, homes in which with intelligence, probity, industry, and an admirable simplicity, the man and the woman are creating our fundamental institution. Scores of such homes, in some cases hundreds, exist

in numbers of our American communities —exist for those who will try to find them and will try sympathetically to know them. But one of the tragic elements of our situation lies in the fact that of this most honorable and most hopeful aspect of Negro life the white community, North and South, knows practically nothing."[1]

Efficient Home Life

It has been the pleasure of the author to enter some of the true homes of old-time colored friends and it is now a privilege to bear personal testimony to the honest, respectable, wholesome family life lived therein. They are homes where parents are seeking to rear and train their children aright, and to make their aims high and their ambitions noble. The men have an honest pride in the achieving of a home and the women seek to make those homes attractive for their families and an influence for good. In many of these homes the young girls are shielded from the many temptations and dangers that come to their race and sex in going out to service. One mother said: "Knowing what I know, I prefer to keep my daughters in my home, though their wages would be a help to us.

[1] *Problems of the Present South*, 166.

If they stay at night where they work, they are not always protected; if they come home at night, that means they are late and very early on the street unprotected." The quality of these homes and the care of the girlhood of such families may serve as a partial reason why it is not always the most desirable class that go out to service, and may suggest some changes in the conditions and requirements of service. It does not follow that these women live in idleness. They do the work in their own homes. Many take in sewing or go out to sew by the day. Some teach or enter upon other employments for which their measure of education qualifies them.

Home Training Greatest Lack

There are, however, very many so-called homes where the worst conditions prevail, and the greatest lack of the race as a whole is proper home surroundings and training. In many instances this comes from ignorance or viciousness of the parents, in others from that poverty that takes both parents away from home to work and leaves the children to " run wild " in the worst section of the city and to learn all the evil of the street.

Much as has been achieved by the race

Woman Center of Home

in owning and making homes, the great lack is still in the home life and the end to which their chief energies should be directed, through church, school, societies, and clubs, should be the bettering of home life. The home is the heart of Christian civilization. From it flows the life-blood of a race or nation. The center of the home is the woman, and its existence for good or bad depends largely upon her as wife and mother. Therefore the right education and training of the Negro woman is of the greatest importance to the future of the race. If she be imbued with the sanctities of life, she will keep herself and her home pure and clean. If she be taught the dignity of labor and trained to do her duty in the practical things pertaining to a real home, she will make it more desirable to her family than an evil outside life. If she be taught to appreciate aright the sacredness of motherhood and the proper care of her children, she will send forth noble sons and daughters.

Love of Social Life

The Negro is eminently social in his nature. As a race he loves to congregate and to communicate. He naturally loves a crowd, whatever may be the occasion for

bringing it together — an excursion, a church service, or a circus, a wedding, or a death-bed. His pliable emotions fit themselves to any occasion with wonderful facility, and reach a state of excitement with alacrity and enjoyment.

Social Nature Leads to Segregation

This social nature leads them to segregate in town or city where there is quick access to each other and opportunity to talk—either in gossip or quarrel. It makes it far easier to secure Negro labor in employments where a large number work together. It often hinders regular work and steady gains. The irresistible attractions of an excursion will draw the laborer from his work and together with his whole family he will spend on it all he has saved.

Elimination of Old Social Customs

With education and a growing refinement and restraint resulting from it, we see in the better class a gradual elimination of the emotional excitement attendant upon the old social customs. Indeed, there may be too great a tendency to imitate the formal etiquette and half-hearted manner which the Anglo-Saxon shows in his efforts at enjoyment.

Upper and Lower Classes

Social distinctions have led to the formation of a class spirit as well-defined

in the Negro race as in the white. There is the upper class and the lower classes. Strange to say, this brings about a peculiar state of affairs. The lower classes resent the effort of their own upper class to make a social inequality within the race, although they accept their inequality with the better-class white people for whom they work. The first-class white people as a general thing know better and prefer the Negro servant class to those of "colored society" rank. On the other hand, we find the latter class brought into closer association with the poor, laboring class of the white race residing nearer to them, who, while clinging tenaciously to white supremacy in sentiment, admit them in a certain way into social relations.

Society Circle

The "society" circle of colored people have their handsome or pretty homes opened for the same kind of entertainments that white people have, and extend their hospitality as generously to their own set; and, in proportion to their means, these entertainments are made as attractive by the fine dress of the women, the floral decorations, the well-served menu, and the character of the music. Their par-

ties, their weddings, their funerals, are made as nearly as possible like those of the white people, and in some instances they could not be distinguished from them except by the color of the participants, and sometimes that is not very marked.

Mixed Blood and Full Blood Negroes

There is a point in the social life of the Negro that is difficult and delicate to handle. The Negroes recognize and so do the Southern white people a condition which forms an inner problem to the much-discussed "Race Problem." And this is the class distinction based on color that is drawing apart the mixed blood from the full-blood Negro. There are no defined rules governing this classification, because of its varying degrees, and there are many deviations from the line even when there is a marked difference to one side or the other. Yet that line is growing more and more evident in both social and religious life.

Educational and Social Advantages of Mixed Blood

As a general thing those that continue their education beyond the common school are those of mixed blood—the mulattoes, quadroons, and octoroons. This grows in a large measure out of the eliminating process wherein the mentally fit survive.

But there are other contributory causes that have a large effect. The Negro mother often feels great pride in her half-white child because of the beauty and intelligence it frequently possesses, and feels ambitious for it to rise in the world, therefore more care is taken of its appearance and greater effort is made to secure its education than if it were black. It is frequently not so strong physically as the black child, and is, as much as possible, shielded from the hardships of life. This is more especially true of the girl. All these things find a result in the character and life of the child. Often the outcome is good as far as its own attainments are concerned, but with its advantages there comes the natural feeling of superiority over the less favored. "Like likes like" is the proverbial basis of all social life. These favored, educated, successful people of mixed blood are by far the largest element of the select social circle—an upper-tendom that more or less wishes to avoid association with the real "brother in black," but cannot. In some things the law of the land holds them together, in others the still more difficult laws of relationship.

Mixed Blood in Select Social Circles

A visit to almost any of the Negro institutions of higher education will furnish proof of what has been said in the fact that the large majority of the pupils, especially of the girls, are light-colored. There are also what they call "tony" churches in which can be seen very few black faces, and the same thing may be noted in many of their high-class social entertainments. This color-line is not so distinctly drawn but that the full-blooded, well-educated professional or successful business man, and his wife, may find entrance. Nor is the line drawn strictly on education and worthiness. The light-colored beauty, man or woman, who assumes a certain style of dress and manner may be found there, and "no questions asked."

Class Distinctions a Detriment to Race

These distinct classes in the Negro social life are far more frequently found in the city than in the country, and in some cities more than in others, and this may result from the different degrees of educational advantages to be found in different localities. It may well be said that class distinctions that divide the educated from the uneducated, the rich from the poor, are to be found among all civilized peoples.

Granted, but the point here is that yet more and more the higher class among the Negroes is being made up of the mixed blood, and this social drawing away of the "high class" from the "masses," if color be the cause, while the individual cannot be blamed, is resulting in several ways to the detriment of the race. For although there are a large number of mixed blood who are the children of parents who are both mulattoes and are born in wedlock, a great number are half white, and are, therefore, in all the Southern States illegitimate. Thus it would seem that a premium is put on amalgamation resulting from immorality.

Evil Results of Amalgamation

It must not be understood from what has been written that those of mixed blood are all superior to the full-blood Negroes, for some of the worst, most stupid, most dangerous elements of the race are to be found among them. While they preponderate in the higher schools and higher society, these represent but a small proportion of the whole race, or even of the mixed blood, of whom it is estimated there are 3,000,000 in the United States. The general results of amalgamation have proved it to be an

evil for both races, and therefore both should do all in their power to preserve race integrity.

True Leaders

There is a still higher class, though a much smaller one than the "society set" —true leaders who are doing their part nobly toward helping others who have been less fortunate. Among these may be found men who are principals of colleges, and teachers, physicians, lawyers, ministers, graduates of colleges, North and South. There are also women of means, refinement, and culture who are spending time, strength, and money for the uplift of the women of their race who need their help. These feel that they must keep in touch with the men and women whose advantages and opportunities have not been as great as theirs, if they would save the race. May we not hope that as the influence of this class extends, it will counteract the evil arising from prejudice and resentment caused by other conditions and prove to be the bond that will draw together in love and helpfulness the jarring elements in their own race, and be ready to coöperate with men and women of like minds in the white race who would seek a righteous

J. W. E. Bowen
President, Gammon Theological Seminary

Booker T. Washington
President, Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute

solution of the race problem. It is hoped that this spirit of coöperation may increase.

National Association of Colored Women

No discussion of the social life of the Negro would be complete without considering the National Association of Colored Women and the work being done by the various affiliated clubs that include in their membership at least 10,000 women. While the object of these clubs, to a certain extent, is self-culture, it is to a much larger extent philanthropic and charitable. They are formed of the leading women of the race and represent the best class intellectually as well as socially. These are the women who most fully realize the condition of the mass of their people and, feeling a keen responsibility for its betterment, are seeking through the educational and institutional features of their clubs to establish higher standards of life in the home and family relations.

"Lifting as We Climb"

This association was incorporated in 1904, and is therefore still in its incipiency. Some of its work is crude, but its influence has already been for good in those communities where conditions are favorable, and there is every reason to believe that a larger sphere and better results lie before

it in the future. The organization grew out of the "felt need of united and systematic effort," and the hope of furnishing "evidence of moral, mental, and material progress made by the [Negro] people." Its object is to secure "harmony of action and coöperation among all women in raising to the highest plane, home, moral, and civil life;" and its motto, "Lifting As We Climb," shows how the work is to be done.

Wide Range of Activities

Mrs. Booker T. Washington, vice-president at large of the National Association, writes in a personal letter: "I think one thing about the colored women's clubs is perhaps a little different from those of the white women—we are necessarily more practical. We are running sewing classes, cooking classes, plantation schools, carrying on reading-rooms, building up schools, and like objects." The report of the Tuskegee Club, which numbers seventy-four, shows great activity along all lines for the general development of the club women themselves and in the help they render others. Its literary topics are fine and suggestive; its charity is well-directed; its institutional work in sections where this is

much needed is resultful; its religious and temperance instruction is given in the jail, the school, and in the mothers' meetings. The mothers' meeting is perhaps productive of more good than any other branch of the work, since it deals directly with the home life of which the mother is always the center, the chief influence for good or for bad. The talks and discussions handle the very practical subjects of cleanliness in house and person, proper food and its preparation, character of clothing, physical health, moral standards, thrift and well-directed economy, and the influence of the mother's life and teachings upon her children and their manners and appearance in public.

Mutual Benefit Societies

More numerous than the women's clubs are the mutual benefit societies, with many varying names and objects. These, properly conducted, are a great blessing, especially among the poor, day-laboring class, who are often without friends who can be of the least assistance in times of distress and sickness. They have also their social features, and through them furnish respectable entertainment and amusement to supplant much that would degrade. Be-

sides these, there are many church societies that have social features, and are in many ways beneficial both to the women composing them and to those who receive help from them.

Crime Among Negroes

The Negroes, while forming about one eighth of the whole population of the United States in 1890, were responsible for nearly one fifth of the crime. According to the twelfth census, there were in the United States 57,310 prisoners; of these, 25,019 were Negroes — a number three times as great in proportion to population as that of the native whites, and one and a half times as great as that of the foreign-born white. The figures also show that in proportion to the Negro population there are more criminal Negroes in the North than in the South, eight tenths of them being in the South, where nine tenths of the Negroes dwell. This may be explained by the fact that those in the North live almost entirely in the cities, while in the South the vast majority are in the rural districts. In both races the criminality of the city far exceeds that of the country.

Character of Crime

Of the Negro prisoners in the State penitentiaries, city or county jails, and work-

houses or houses of correction, the men largely predominate. Half of them are between the ages of twenty and thirty, and a fifth between the ages of ten and nineteen. The figures show a lower criminal age than among the whites, and the crime of most of these youthful offenders is stealing. If commitments were tabulated, undoubtedly pilfering would be found to be preëminently the Negro crime. One fourth of the Negro prisoners are confined for crimes against the person. This consists of fighting and quarreling, which end at times in homicide, and also the crime of rape. One sixth of the prisoners in jail are charged with crimes against society, such as gambling, drunkenness, adultery.

Crime Due to Lack of Home Training

No one can go into a Southern city or town and fail to notice in certain sections the large number of idle, ragged, dirty Negroes, and every village and wayside railway station has its quota. These are in a large measure vagrants—though an occasional "job" may save them from the vagrant law—and their only steady occupation is the game of "crap-shooting." It does not take a very strong temptation to make one of this shiftless class a crim-

inal. To feed such as these many an honest wife or mother wears her life out at the wash-tub, and to protect them from punishment she would perjure her soul, or lay down her life. Yet without doubt many of them are what they are because of the evil influence and the lack of moral training in miserable homes, where the immoral lives of wife and mother are on the same plane as their own.

Race Traits Determine Character of Crime

Broadly speaking, the same causes that tend to poverty, ignorance, and crime, in every land and among every people, are to be found among the Negroes. Closer observation reveals certain race traits and inherited tendencies manifested in the character of crimes committed. The Negro is emotional and is easily influenced to evil; his passions are strong and he lacks in self-control; his judgment is poor and he does not quickly discern the logical sequence of cause and effect; while immediate gratification blinds him to the penal consequences of his act. Add to these ignorance, drunkenness, resentment, or cupidity, and the criminal is accounted for—the homicide, the ravisher, the thief.

Judge W. H. Thomas, of Montgomery,

Alabama, says in his admirable treatise on *Law and License:* "It is noteworthy that the Negro in the South does not kill the white man, nor the white man the Negro, as often as the Negro kills the Negro. . . . Unfortunately the Negro holds with too little regard the life of his colored neighbor when angered by him." In response to an inquiry made of the chaplain of the Tennessee penitentiary, he said: "More than two thirds of the Negro prisoners here were convicted for crimes committed while angry." A great wrong is done the Negro by his enemies, his mistaken white friends, and the ill-advised members of his own race, who by printed or spoken words play upon the emotions of the Negro so as to produce resentment, for that soon grows to hatred that may at any moment become violence.

Crime Committed while Angry

Strong drink and exciting drugs have an even more fearful effect upon the Negro than upon the white race. When he is drunk, what little self-control he has learned from being forced to check his passions is swept away, and he becomes a murderer or a lustful animal, regardless of consequences. Much, very much of the

Drink Increases Crime

Negro's worst criminality has been the result of whiskey or, worse still, of a horrid, adulterated gin especially prepared and labeled to excite his worst passions.

Poverty the Cause of Much Crime

Poverty walks a close companion of crime. Not only are the large majority of all criminals poor, but poverty with its concomitants is the basal cause of the crimes of many. The poorest class in the South is largely composed of Negroes. The idle, unemployed class who will not work, or are unable to find work that they can do, become either loafing dependents on others of their race, or thieves. In the homes of poverty there are insanitary and immoral conditions affecting both the moral and physical life. There often the worst vices reign unchecked and unshamed, and many arrests result from riotous behavior, brawls, and often murder. Children growing up in these homes and the streets and the alleys adjacent to them are corrupted in their infancy, and before they reach maturity they have been added to the criminal class.

Heinous Crimes

It is not well to enter into any discussion of the heinous crime of rape, or its punishment. Only those who live at a distance

and have never realized its daily and hourly terror can discuss it dispassionately. Only those whose lives have never touched a life so wrecked can calmly condemn the agonized fury of those who love the victim. It is only those who have heard and seen the violence of the mob who can truly deplore it.

Bigamy and Marital Infidelity

There is a danger often overlooked in the administration of the law in the case of the Negro—a certain indifference to crimes that relate solely to his own race and well-being and which, because they are condoned so often, are increasing to an alarming extent. Chief among these are bigamy and marital infidelity. It might astonish some to know the prevalence of these evils, and yet how seldom prosecution and punishment follows the offense—practically in no cases. The calmness with which the Negro, male and female, accepts this evil condition and the indifference with which it is regarded by the white people as "the Negro's way" is a shame to both races, and as long as it is allowed to continue will prove a destructive element in the home and social life. Too often the white man, from sentimental reasons

largely based on the old-time relation of master and slave, stands between the law and a "good-for-naught" who is being tried for a minor offense, and "talks or pays him out of court," heedless of the fact that he will continue, possibly increase, in crime because of the ease with which he has escaped its consequences.

Unjust Discrimination in Courts

If the miscarriage of justice and unequal administration of the law existed in only one section of our country, or was directed toward only one race of people, the subject would be greatly simplified. If partial judges and juries and corruptible policemen were confined to that section and injured that one race, the rest of the world might well sit in judgment upon that unfortunate section. But this is not the case. From all over the country—nay, all over the world—comes the cry of the poor that there is unjust discrimination made in the courts between them and the rich. We have grown familiar with the phrases, "The poor man has no chance with the rich when they go to law," "The rich man bribes himself free," "It is only the poor man who must hang," "The rich man pays his fine, the poor man must go to the

"Stonewall" Jackson

Walter B. Hill
Ex-Chancellor, University of Georgia

workhouse or the chain-gang." And again the alien complains that through his ignorance, and often through the prejudice against him, he is unable to secure justice in the courts. Ignorance, poverty, helplessness, each has its cry against the oppression and injustice of the world. It is a cry that ascends unto heaven and will be heard. Justice perverted becomes retributive, and no man or country can fail to receive sooner or later the evil result of injustice. Chancellor Hill, of the University of Georgia, of whom the whole South was proud, and for whose death the whole South grieved, said: "The thing which the South cannot afford in its relation to the Negro race is injustice; all history teaches that injustice injures and deteriorates the individual or nation that practises it, while on the other hand, it develops and strengthens the race upon which it is inflicted."

Accurate Statistics Not Obtainable

There is no class of statistics more unreliable or more difficult to classify than those relating to birth, death, and disease. For this there are many contributory reasons; for example, imperfect registration, and in some States, no registration of

births, an unknown or concealed cause of death, no report of disease that has not resulted in death, and in some sections no official report of persons dying without the attendance of a physician. (This last is of frequent occurrence among the poor in rural districts.) These usual difficulties face one to a very large degree in considering Negro statistics, owing to the fact that the large majority of them belong to the poor and ignorant class, from which such statistics are most difficult to obtain.

Negro Birth-rate Exceeds White

From comparing the number of children with the number of women of child-bearing age, it is seen that the Negro birth-rate exceeds and has always exceeded the white birth-rate.

Insane, Defective, Blind and Deaf

The statistics as to insane and defective are very imperfect and relate only to those in institutions. From these we gather that in 1903 there were in continental United States 9,452 Negroes in hospitals and asylums. Nearly one third of these were in the North and West, a proportion far in excess of the relative Negro population. This may be offset, however, by the fact that much of the Negro population in the South is in rural districts, where the harm-

less insane and defective are kept at home more generally than in the city. In 1900 there were reported 8,228 blind and over 5,000 deaf Negroes.

The colored death-rate greatly exceeds the white. For every one thousand living colored children under one year of age 397 died in the city and 219 in the country; under five years of age, 132 in the city and 67 in the country. These figures tell a story of "the slaughter of the innocents." There is, however, a great improvement in infant mortality during the last decade.

Different Composition of Blood

Dr. G. Stanley Hall, in his pamphlet, "The Negro in Africa and America," says: "We find in compiling many medical studies of the blacks, that their diseases are very different from ours. Their liability to consumption is estimated at from one and a half to three times greater than that of the whites. . . . Very striking is their immunity from malaria and yellow fever, which shows a different composition of the blood. . . . They have extraordinary power to survive both wounds and grave surgical operations. . . . Cancer of the worst kind is rare, as are stone in gall and bladder, and ovarian tumor.

There is less insanity, but epilepsy is far more common. . . . They are naturally cheerful, therefore melancholia and suicide are rare. . . . General paralysis, or softening of the brain, said never to have occurred in slavery, is now sometimes found. Their diseases require modifications of treatment, so that the training of physicians for the two races needs differentiation. . . . Of course, mixture of blood brings approximation to pathological conditions." If this statement be true, and the weight of evidence is with the distinguished writer, it loudly emphasizes the need of physicians who are especially trained for the treatment of the Negro, and for the peculiar training of the Negro physician.

Poverty a Cause of Mortality

There are many causes for the high rate of mortality among the Negroes, and not the least of these are poverty and ignorance. "All observation goes to show that the cities are the hotbeds of crime, misery, and death among the colored people. They are huddled together, often with two or three families in one room. Without employment for more than half the time, they are consequently insufficiently fed and

poorly clothed. When sick, they are unable either to employ a physician or to buy medicine. At least twenty-five per cent. of them die without medical aid."[1]

Ignorance also Cause of Mortality

Not only is poverty the cause of sickness and death, but so also is the ignorance that occasions neglect of sickness and prevention of contagious disease. Add to these his superstition and social customs, and one may sum up the main causes of the excessive death-rate of the Negro. Poverty not only leads to the evils stated above, but compels residence in the most insanitary part of the city, where often the water-supply is impure and the drainage bad. It prevents proper disinfection of houses or the separation of the sick from those in health. It compels the laboring man to work under all kinds of exposure and the laboring woman to leave uncared-for the sick in her family. Much of the effects of all this might be saved by intelligent precautions and insistent and quickly applied remedies. The large number of still-births is caused by the character of labor performed by the mothers and the ignorant midwives who attend them. Later the

[1] Atlanta University Publications, No. 1.

babes die from the ignorance of the mothers in feeding and caring for them. The neglect of older children leads to much exposure to disease, physical and moral—a neglect that extends through life.

Diseases Cause Poverty

It may also be said that much poverty and suffering among the Negroes comes from disease that might be prevented or controlled, or even cured, if they had more knowledge concerning the cause, dissemination, and treatment of the diseases most prevalent among them. They cannot be convinced that fresh air or bathing are valuable in both sickness and health. They hold to the old fatalistic view of consumption and will take no precaution against its infection. Many will not voluntarily vaccinate themselves or their children, and they resist as far as possible compulsory vaccination, though free; consequently their settlements are frequently ravaged by smallpox and form centers of infection to the community at large.

Social Life Spreads Diseases

The Negro's social nature, together with his deficiency in the logical faculty that reasons out future results from present acts, is also responsible in a large degree for the rapid spread of disease among

them. They are constantly visiting each other and having all sorts of gatherings from house to house; visiting the sick and attending funerals (no matter what the nature of the disease) are regarded as especially meritorious. Often the sick room is a scene of wild religious excitement, shared in by the patient and his friends, who will crowd around the bed regardless of contagion.

Charity Practise of White Physicians

The intelligent white physician often does a large charity practise among the poor Negroes, though he has but little hope of his directions being followed. The intelligent Negro physician is often unable to do much charity practise, and in many cases, being poor himself, refuses to attend cases where there is no hope of remuneration or success.

Quack Doctors and Medicines

But there is a species of "quack doctors," both white and black, who appeal to the Negro by promising for their nostrums immediate and wonderful effects, and somehow get paid "cash down" for their often injurious medicines. The universally advertised and ignorantly recommended "quack medicines" (especially those of a stimulating character) find ready accep-

tance with the Negro. Without intelligent diagnosis of his disease, and governed by the most general symptoms, he will take bottle after bottle of medicines that injure his health, and to purchase them he will empty his purse of the money necessary to secure the means of health. Unfortunately this deplorable habit is not limited to the Negro.

Witch-Doctors

There is still another enemy that the poor, ignorant Negro has to contend with and is least capable of resisting—the Negro "witch-doctor," or "conjurer," who still survives after all these years since leaving Africa, and nearly two generations of freedom. His practise of both "the white art" of healing and the "black art" of destruction continues to find a field in the fear and superstition of the lowest class of his race. If one of these medicine-men pronounces his patient "conjured" and prescribes the remedy—no matter how difficult, disgusting, or foolish—every effort is made to carry out his orders as closely as possible, to "break the spell" of the enemy that has caused the illness. Time, money, reputation, all are sacrificed to an amazing degree. So great is the ef-

fect of the mind upon the body that a man or woman may, without any real ailment, pine away and die because he cannot find a witch strong enough to "break the spell," or rebound into sudden health if made to believe he has been released from the power of the enemy. A number of cases could be recited to show the prevalence of this pitiful superstition. Nor is a part of this fear of conjurers and their arts altogether groundless or imaginary, for some of their concoctions are very harmful, and their knowledge of subtle poisons, brought from Africa and handed down to descendants, is used in connection with their "charms" and fetiches to really cause incurable disease.

Importance of Trained Negro Physicians

In dealing with these witchcraft troubles any white doctor is at a disadvantage, unless he has some peculiar hold upon the love and confidence of the Negroes, for it is a part of their superstition to keep such matters secret from white people. Anything he might say to discount the power of the fetich, or of the witch-doctor, would be regarded as an expression of prejudice against the black man, or because, as a white man, he could not under-

stand what belonged to the African. Therefore, it is all-important that there should be Negro physicians of fine mental and moral ability with special training to do medical work of a missionary character among them. They will feel that the black blood of such a man makes him one with them in sympathy and understanding. They will confide in him, and his unbelief in their superstitions will not offend them as with the white man. But it will be seen at a glance how necessary it is for such a Negro doctor to be not only sympathetic and scientific, but so deeply grounded in the things that be of God that his own mind and heart are unenthralled by superstition and he has the power to lead his patients into "the liberty of the children of God."

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER V

AIM: TO REALIZE THE PRESENT SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE NEGRO AND HOW LIFE MAY BE IMPROVED

1. Describe the home life of a Negro in Africa.
2. What would you miss most in his home life?
3.* What are some of the things that make possible your home life that the African does not have?

4. What are some of the incentives to better home life that come from ownership?
5. Is it necessary to own a home to have efficient home life?
6. What is essential to home life in addition to a good building and fine furnishings?
7. Contrast a typical home among the poor Negroes with those among the poor of other races.
8. How do the best homes among the Negroes compare with some of the good homes among the whites?
9. Enumerate some of the chief temptations toward sociability among the Negroes?
10. How do these effect the progress of the race?
11. What are the conditions that produce class distinction among the Negroes?
12. What are the conditions that produce class distinction among other races?
13.* Do the circumstances that cause class distinction differ among the various races?
14. What benefits will accrue to the uplift of the Negro through the women's associations and other benevolent organizations?
15. Among what classes of Negroes is the largest percentage of crime?
16. What conditions in their history, to some extent, account for the character of their crimes?
17. Sum up the principal causes of crime among them to-day.
18.* Give several suggestions that you believe would check criminality.
19. What are the various causes that are seriously effecting the physical life of the Negroes?
20.* What recommendation would you make in a community to improve the social, moral, and physical conditions?

21.* What can you do to help the Negroes to improve their social life?

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER STUDY.—CHAPTER V[1]

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[1] Further references will be found in the home missionary magazines of the various denominations.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

The right education of the Negro is at once a duty and a necessity. All the resources of the school should be exhausted in elevating his character, improving his condition, and increasing his capacity as a citizen. The policy of enforced ignorance is illogical, un-American, and unchristian. It is possible in a despotism, but perilous in a republic. It is indefensible on any grounds of social or political wisdom, and is not supported by any standards of ethics or justice. If one fact is more clearly demonstrated by the logic of history than another, it is that education is an indispensable condition of wealth and prosperity. . . . Ignorance is a cure for nothing. . . . Suppose we close the 30,000 Negro schools of the South, what would be the result? Let Dr. Curry tell us: "Ignorance more dense, pauperism more general and severe, crime, superstition, and immorality rampant." We could not survive such a policy. The boasted strength of our government institutions could not endure the strain. . . .

I have been at not a little pains to ascertain from representatives of various institutions the postcollegiate history of their students, and I am profoundly gratified at the record. I believe it is perfectly safe to say that not a single case of criminal assault has ever been charged on a student of a mission school for Negroes founded and sustained by a great Christian denomination.

—Charles B. Galloway

VI

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Education Essential in a Nation

EDUCATION is not only a demand of civilization, but it is a part of the very foundation upon which it rests, and no nation has risen to its highest place that has left its people in ignorance. Illiteracy may be the misfortune of the individual, but the country that is content to allow illiteracy to prevail within its bounds when it may be removed proclaims its shame to the world and prepares for its own degeneracy in the future. Thus the schoolhouse becomes the pivot upon which a nation's fate revolves, and upon its character depends the advancement and prosperity of that nation. "Knowledge is power" for good or evil according to its character and direction, but ignorance means weakness for good and strength for evil. It helps nothing, it hinders everything.

Freedman's Need of Education

The freedman's need of education was apparent, that he must have it to fit him

for the life before him was equally apparent. In the beginning many mistakes were made by those who sought to help him, caused by ignorance of his nature and needs, and overhaste to secure the appearance of education rather than real results. Not a few of these have been rectified, proving the value of failure as "a stepping-stone to better things," and the Negro has already gained tremendously from the educational advantages furnished him by Church and State.

Education that Will Fit for Life

This is not to say that the race has gone very far in education; indeed, it has but just started to climb the hill of learning. It signifies much that it has *started,* and will mean still more if, gaining a clearer and ever clearer view of the height beyond, it continues to toil upward and onward, choosing the best way and the best things and wisely rejecting that which experience teaches is not worth while. The gain that will come to the Negro in exchanging ignorance for knowledge will be a gain to the nation as well, and especially to those sections where he dwells in largest numbers. This does not mean that every man or woman that has "a smattering" of educa-

tion, or makes a conceited claim to being educated simply because he has been in a school, is benefited or will prove a benefit to anybody. Such as these have done much harm in discounting the value of education to the race, and awakening prejudice against it in the minds of many who should have known how to discriminate between the true and the false. Nor does it mean that every member of the race is capable of receiving the higher forms of education, or is bettered by an attempt to impose them upon him. What it does mean is that every man, woman, and child, black as well as white, should have an opportunity to gain the kind and measure of education that will be best fitted to meet the demands of individual and race life.

Educated Christian Negro No Problem

That such education should be Christian is only to say that it should be true education, which informs, develops, and inspires man's whole nature, spiritual as well as mental. The industrious, educated Christian Negro is to-day no problem and, as his kind increases, will prove a blessing to the country. The larger the number of Negroes who remain ignorant, and often through ignorance are vicious, the greater

the curse the race will become to itself and to others.

First Negro Schools in North

Only about five per cent. of the Negroes in 1860 could read and write. Of this number a minority were among the slaves; the majority were "free persons of color." The former learned what they knew from their owners. The first Negro school, or at least among the first, in the North was established in New York by Elias Neau in 1704. This was principally for religious instruction, though other subjects were taught, and was supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The Quakers of Philadelphia opened in 1770 a school for Negroes which exists to-day. In Massachusetts there was a school supported by Negroes opened in 1798. In 1820 the Negroes of Cincinnati opened a school, and other schools were started elsewhere. These schools had a struggling life and many of them passed out of existence. "From about 1835 it became general in the Northern States to have separate schools for the Negroes. They were usually poorer than the schools for whites, worse taught and worse equipped, and wretchedly housed. Begin-

ning with Massachusetts, in 1855, these separate schools have been abolished in nearly all Northern States."[1]

First Negro Schools in South

Some few schools for the Negroes existed here and there through the South before the war. The first was opened in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1774, by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. "It flourished greatly and seemed to answer their utmost needs." In the District of Columbia no less than fifteen schools were conducted, mainly at the expense of the colored people, between 1800 and 1861. In Savannah a French Negro from San Domingo conducted a free Negro school—openly from 1819 to 1829 and secretly for some time after. In Maryland, St. Francis Academy for colored girls was founded by the Roman Catholics in 1829. The sisters were colored. In North Carolina there were several schools.

Army Schools During War

While the war was yet in progress there were "army schools" opened for the benefit of the refugee Negroes who flocked from the plantations within the bounds of the Federal army. They were principally

[1] Atlanta University Publications, No. 6.

in Virginia and the Carolinas along the sea-coast, and in the Mississippi river towns. These were sustained then, and later, by Northern benevolence and by the use and sale of the confiscated property of the Southern whites.[1] In 1866 when the Freedmen's Bureau went into effect there were 740 of these "army schools," taught by 1,314 teachers, with 90,589 pupils. The pupils ranged in age from wee toddlers to gray heads. The desire to be educated was almost a craze, yet few appreciated the time and effort involved in the process. Some of the older pupils, discouraged at seeing themselves outstripped by little children, abandoned the schools themselves but urged their children and grandchildren to attend. Others by extraordinary patience and industry attained their desire to read the Bible.

Schools Under Freedmen's Bureau

When the Freedmen's Bureau came it took in hand the schools for freedmen already established and improved them. They were largely increased in number and efficiency, and at the close of its four years of work (1870), General Howard reported 2,677 schools, with 3,300 teachers

[1] Atlanta University Publications, No. 6.

Napier Public School, Nashville, Tennessee

Jubilee Hall, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

and 149,581 pupils, for which had been expended $5,879,924.

Southern School System Before War

It has been stated that the South had no free school system before the war. In 1860 the South had 27,582 public schools with 954,678 pupils, for which there was an annual expenditure by the States of $5,269,642. The legislative records show that North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia had well-organized systems of public schools as early as 1811. In fact the State system of free public schools originated in the South, and was in operation nearly a half century before it was adopted by a number of the Northern States.[1]

War Deprived South of Schools

That the South in some localities was without public schools in 1865 was the result of the civil war, one of the most destructive conflicts that the modern world has known. There was not only a lack of schools but of food and clothing among those best capable of supplying the educational needs of the population, white and colored. While money was being lavished on schools for Negro children, white children lacked equal facilities. Under the cir-

[1] Dyer, *Democracy in the South before the Civil War*, 66-75.

cumstances, it is not surprising that the first and best efforts of the white South were directed toward caring for its own.

Money Expended by South for Negro Schools

Yet, between the years 1870 and 1905, the sixteen Southern States expended for the Negro public schools more than $155,000,000. In the year 1905-06, about $9,200,000 more was expended. The enrolment of Negro pupils in public schools is about one fourth as large as that of the white, and the Negro schools receive about one fifth of the State school funds, or one fifth as much as the white schools receive. For many years the direct school tax was almost entirely paid by the white property owners. As the Negroes gain property, they pay an ever-increasing amount of the direct as well as their part of the indirect tax.

In addition to the amount expended by the Southern States for public schools, millions more have been given by the North for Church and private schools, principally for higher education. It would be difficult to calculate the total of the vast sums that have been devoted to Negro education by both North and South since emancipation. It would not be an over-

estimate to place it at $250,000,000—a quarter of a billion!

CHARACTER OF SCHOOLS

Statistics of Negro Schools

From the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1906, the following statistics are gathered as to Negro schools:

1. *Common schools.* Teachers, 27,747; pupils enrolled, 1,617,998.

2. *Public high schools,* 146; teachers, 891; pupils, 45,037.

3. *Secondary and higher schools other than public,* 127; teachers, 2,057; pupils, 42,500. Of these 25,209 are elementary pupils, 14,281 secondary, and 310 are college students.

Types of Schools

The majority of the institutions in the third group are maintained by Home Mission Boards, white and colored. One home mission board alone has contributed over $4,000,000 to educational work among Negroes. Philanthropic associations and individuals have also contributed largely to their establishment and maintenance. Some of them were founded by the United States government through the Freedmen's Bureau, and some of them are

State institutions. In 1905-6 the government contributed $265,640 toward eighteen of these schools. In all of them the tuition fees and board (though very small in some) make the Negroes themselves contributors to that extent to their support.

Character and Grade

These institutions are of different character and grade. Some of them have many departments. Forty-one are normal or have a normal course, with 4,574 students; forty have an industrial department, with 21,622 students, who are being trained to more or less proficiency in various lines of industry. Thirty-four are distinctively termed colleges or universities, but many of these have elementary grades. Twenty-one are professional schools, or have professional courses, with 1,907 students. The property of this class of schools is valued at $11,227,303, and they receive an annual income of $1,437,480.

Kind and Number of Schools Needed

The testimony of many educators of the Negro race, white and black, agree as to the kind and number of schools needed for the race. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, of Atlanta University, cannot be accused of partiality in his opinion upon this subject when he says: "From a careful consideration of

St. Mark's Industrial School, Birmingham, Alabama

Graduating Classes, Meharry Medical College,
Nashville, Tennessee

the facts and of such testimony as has been given, the following propositions seem clear:

1. The great mass of the Negroes need common school and manual training.

2. There is a large and growing demand for industrial and technical training, and trade schools.

3. There is a distinct demand for the higher training of persons selected for talent and character to be leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among the masses.

4. To supply this demand for a higher training there ought to be maintained several colleges in the South.

5. The aim of these colleges should be to supply thoroughly trained teachers, preachers, professional men, and captains of industry."[1]

Importance of Primary Schools

For two important reasons the primary school should be emphasized as of greater value to the race than those of higher grade, and larger efforts should be made to increase their number and efficiency:

1. It is the opinion of scientists and educators of long experience that the Negro

[1] Atlanta University Publications, No. 5.

child, even more than the white child, learns more quickly than one later in life, and it is well known that lessons in morality and religion make a deeper impression in early youth.

2. The chief reason is that the large majority of Negroes are of the poorer class who will never go beyond the primary school, and what is not learned there will never be learned, and because these schools will furnish the first stage in the sifting process, the separating from the mass of those who have the mental ability to make it worth while to advance to the high school.

Demand for Better Equipment

This emphasis may be given by having better school buildings and more of them in the city and the country. Larger buildings with more classrooms are required. There should be more teachers, with smaller classes. There should be longer school terms. There should be a demand for better equipped, more intelligent teachers, who have had such normal training as will especially fit them to understand and train the children of their own race.

Need of Manual Training

Of prime importance is the need of manual training in the common schools, includ-

ing for girls practical instruction in domestic science. The earlier in a child's life the muscles of the hands and fingers are trained to respond to the will, the more surely does skilled labor become possible in the later years. The value and dignity of manual labor is more wisely impressed upon the child by showing him how to do such work than by much lecturing. The consciousness of doing good work makes of that work a pleasure and incites to an ambitious effort that will save from future idleness.

More Money Required

Of course the improvements indicated as needed in the common schools will require far more money than is now to be had and a wiser expenditure than has yet been made, especially in the rural districts, and so the possibility of much improvement lies with the future. But it is well to keep this aim before us and steadily work toward it.

Miss Jeanes' Gift for Improving Rural Public Schools

A first step in that direction is the wise and generous gift of Miss Anna P. Jeanes of $1,000,000 for the use of the Negro *rural* public schools. This fund was placed in wise, experienced hands and will be wisely and intelligently admin-

istered. So far the board of trustees has devoted its attention to the investigation of conditions. It plans to use the interest of this fund as far as possible in encouraging Negroes to do more for their own schools, and at the same time to do everything possible to induce the local school authorities to do more from the present school funds for the Negro schools than is being done in many places. In other words, in the county where the teacher receives $20 a month, say, for a four months' school, the aim will be to get the colored people to raise sufficient money to add a month, or a month and a half, to the school term and the board of trustees of the Jeanes fund add as much more, provided the school board will increase the salary to, say, $25, and provided also that the teacher is deserving and intelligent. A part of the plan is the elimination as far as possible of all teachers who are not deserving and qualified for the work. The board regards the outlook at present as hopeful. May we not hope that other rich women and men will see the wisdom of largely increasing this fund, and may we not also hope that wise Christian men and

women living in localities where this fund is to be used will aid in every way possible the full execution of the board's plans? In no way can Negro education be better advanced than by improving the rural public schools. The great mass of the people live in the country, where there is more ignorance and where there are at present the poorest school advantages.

Normal Schools to Train Teachers

The value of the normal school to the common and high schools is beyond computation. One may know much and yet be a poor teacher until he has been taught how to impart his knowledge. Especially is this true of those who would teach children, or any who are undeveloped mentally. Through these schools many teachers have been prepared who are doing good work to-day, and it is to be regretted that so many other teachers have not had the advantage of normal training. But many of them must be fitted for a still broader and more thorough work if they would fulfil their whole mission. The course of study should include methods suited to the Negro child, in order to secure the right development of his natural powers, giving proper consideration to heredity and environment.

This necessarily involves a practical knowledge by the normal teacher of the race and its present conditions. If industrial features are ever to be introduced into the primary and secondary schools, the normal schools must prepare the way for them by giving to their future teachers practical courses in the industrial branches that may be taught in the lower schools. The fact that all public schools for Negroes in the South are taught exclusively by Negroes adds a strong argument for the maintenance of Negro normal schools of the highest degree of efficiency.

Value of Industrial Schools

Regarding Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes as models of the kind of industrial schools the Negro needs, too much cannot be said as to their value both for the present and the future development of the race. The latter institution is an outgrowth of the former in that Hampton trained and gave to Tuskegee its distinguished principal, a man who has proved himself to be the greatest representative of his race. The history of these great schools is too well known to need to be reproduced here. The results of their work are already manifest, not only in the industrial life of

the colored people that have come under their influence, but in their mental attitude toward life and its best aims, in a new view of the dignity of honest work and the nobility of good work.

Self-Help Develops Self-Respect

That a man or woman has earned his or her education adds tenfold to its value as a life force, and if in the earning of it he has prepared himself to take up a trade or line of business that will enable him to gain a living for himself and his family, more than half of life's battle has been fought. For every one such there is a place waiting in this world in which he will be respected and self-respecting, no matter what his race or color.

Other Industrial Schools Needed

There are a large number of Negroes not able either mentally or financially to get a real college education, to whom such schools are a great and special providence. There should be at least two other large industrial institutions, one in Texas or the Southwest and one in the Southeast, and their greatest work should consist in training men and women who can in turn train industrially the great mass of the people in private secondary schools and in the public schools of city and country. It is there,

too, that the leaders of great industrial enterprises must be trained for the future and its needs.

Trade Schools

As a further development of the industrial school must come the distinctive trade school that is already in demand for both races. Hampton and Tuskegee are making a near approach to this; and they are doing much to create a demand for them and are preparing their future instructors.

Industrial Training for Women

The woman side of industrial education is replete with meaning both for herself and the race. If made truly valuable by being both skilful and practical, it will mean moral as well as physical betterment for herself, her home, and her family. If she should be a bread-winner it will insure for her remunerative employment.

Dignity of Honest Labor

Not until we appreciate the dignity of labor, and learn that every kind of labor that supplies a need or looks to the advancement of humanity is equally honorable, will we accept the fact that every man owes it to himself and his fellows to devote himself to that kind of work for which by nature he is best fitted. That only is honest labor which is the best a man can do. He only is an honest workman who does what

Emory Halls for Boys, Tuskegee, Alabama

Parker Cottage for Girls, Tuskegee, Alabama

he can do best. Impress these ideas upon the childhood and youth of to-day, and the effect will be seen in the men and women of the future, not only in the increased industry of the race but in a wiser selection of employment. Ambition means effort to become that which is desired, and if it appears just as desirable to be a skilled mechanic, or agriculturist, or railroad builder, as to be a professional man, then these occupations will cease to appear on a lower industrial plane than the professions, and, when they are valued as of importance to human life, efforts will be made to do good honest work in all of them.

Colleges Must Furnish Trained Leaders

The college course is not to be graded higher in practical value to the race than industrial training, but it does a work that the other cannot do, and supplies as great, though a different need. The college must be looked to to furnish thoroughly educated men and women for teachers in all the lower schools, if these elementary institutions are to be productive of the best results. From thence must come the trained men who are to make skilful physicians and surgeons, clear-thinking lawyers, and

preachers from whose minds have been broken the shackles of ignorance and superstition. These are all a felt need of the race and its future evolution depends largely on their character and work. To deny or withhold such preparation from the natural leaders of the race would be to dwarf its powers and make it a still greater problem to the nation as its numbers increase. John R. Mott says: "The universities and colleges teach the teachers, preach to the preachers, and govern the governors. They are the strategic points in civilization. As go these institutions of higher learning, so go the nations."

Fewer but Better Colleges

Some changes should be made in this class of schools. Dr. DuBois asserts that, out of the thirty-four Negro colleges existing in the South in 1900, only about ten were needed to accommodate the pupils that should continue a college course, and then leave large room for growth. He suggests that twenty-two of the smaller institutions leave off their college departments and develop into normal or industrial schools, allowing the college work to be concentrated in the ten large institutions. This would secure better equipment, create

a higher standard, and save much criticism.[1]

Professional Schools

Following the college, come the professional schools. The number of these could not definitely be learned, but their nearly three thousand students and graduates tell of the work that is being done. In every city and in many towns throughout the South these men are to be found in the court-houses, the pulpits, and the sick rooms, each in his place and each according to his ability helping to fulfil and guide the destiny of his people.

Demand for More Negro Physicians

Dr. G. W. Hubbard, Dean of the Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tennessee, says, in the *Southern Workman:* "There is an urgent need of an increased number of Christian Negro physicians in the South. In addition to their work of ministering to the sick, their services would be of incalculable value in giving their people instruction in the observance of the laws of health and in providing comfortable homes for themselves. They would also be able to teach them by precept and example to lead pure, noble, and upright Christian lives. . . . The great

[1] Atlanta University Publications, No. 5.

proportion of the graduate Negro physicians are located in the large cities and towns, few being found in the country districts. . . . The relations that have existed between the white and the colored physicians of the South have been most commendable. The colored have been treated with courtesy and respect by the white medical profession. They have been given all needed assistance in serious cases and difficult surgical operations. There is less friction between the races in the practise of medicine than in any other part of industrial or professional activity."

Central University

As a climax to Negro education it has been wisely suggested that a great central university should be established in one of our large cities, where there would be ample opportunity for the students, while acquiring the necessary theoretical instruction, to study actual conditions among the masses, as well as among the best class of Negroes. Washington City or Baltimore or Atlanta would be a favorable location. It should be a kind of educational laboratory, a university of practical investigation for all lines of life.

Requirements for Admission and Work

The requirements for entrance should be maturity, intelligence, education, morality, and a consecrated zeal that leads the student to devote his life to the elevation of his people. These students should, as far as it is possible to human nature, banish all race prejudice and sensitiveness from their minds and make an honest study of the race life of the Negro and its traits and characteristics from the standpoints of anthropology and psychology. They should also acquaint themselves with the history and development of the race since its coming into America, weighing fairly and impartially all contrary statements and opinions. They should not content themselves with printed accounts of present conditions in the city and in the country, but make first-hand investigations and close personal study of the different phases of life. They should know of the demoralizing social evils, and devastating diseases, the mockery of religion in some of the churches, and the gross practises among some of the clergy. They should also know how, out of and over all these hindrances, many members of the race have come victorious to a high plane of life; and, with this

knowledge, they should take heart and hope to fight the evils that are tending toward the destruction of the great ignorant mass.

The Negro Best Adapted to Train His Race

The Negro, out of his subjective consciousness, knows that which pertains to his own race—knows it as it is difficult, yea, well-nigh impossible for the Caucasian race to know it—and men so trained should be far more capable of training the Negro brain, of meeting the needs of his physical life, and of responding to his spiritual nature than the white man, be he ever so wise and sympathetic. That there are Negro men capable of receiving and nobly using such training has been abundantly proved.

Differences to be Considered

In any training of the Negro mind, consideration should be given to the different racial elements that inhere in the whole race; and to the natural endowment, the history, and the environment that differentiate the Negro race from the Caucasian.

Four Racial Groups

The American Negroes when closely investigated and studied are found to form four racial groups. (1) The true Negro, of whom there are several types — Guinea Coast, Hottentot, and Bushman—consti-

tute the majority of those in the South. These types have distinctive characteristics, and vary in mental ability and possibilities of elevation. (2) The Hamitic Negro—Bantu, Zulu, and Kaffir—is found in fewer numbers throughout the whole country, but most frequently in Virginia and the Carolinas. (3) The Semitic Negro—Sudanese and Dahomian—is found in smaller numbers than any other class. (4) The Caucasian Negro—mulattoes, quadroons, and octoroons—are found in increasing numbers throughout the whole country, but predominate in proportion to their numbers in the North.

Differences between Hamitic and Semitic

Many Hamitic, Semitic, and Caucasian Negroes have fine minds and naturally become the leaders of their people. The Hamitic Negro is warlike and dominant in Africa and also in America among his own people. The Semitic Negro has a gentle, placid nature and is especially adapted to domestic life.

Three Classes among Caucasian Negroes

The Caucasian Negro is of too recent origin to get the necessary perspective for a fair estimate of race type, but many individuals of this class indicate great possibilities. This last group may be divided

into three classes, not as to the relative amount of white and black blood or as to color, but as to certain marked characteristics. First, there is the large, muscular type with the Negro features magnified, who is self-assertive and loud-voiced. The second type resembles the first, but is inferior to it physically and mentally. These two classes often combine the worst traits of both races and form the most dangerous elements of the Negro population. The third type more nearly resembles the Caucasian physically and mentally and in inclinations, and some have minds capable of the highest culture.[1]

Further Modifications

Of course all these groups have been modified by frequent admixture among themselves, thus blending their different characteristics, and here and there may be found one or more of an entirely different type from any here mentioned. Yet taken as a whole, these four groups are so marked and diverse, not only in their characteristics but in their possibilities, that it would be manifestly unfair to demand the same treatment, training, and education for all Negroes under all circumstances.

[1] Bean, *Century Magazine*, September, 1906.

Typical Group of Students

Physical Laboratory

If this is true, how much more unjust to do so for the still more widely divergent white and black races in their different stages of development.

Fundamental Principles Must Be Considered

Not only in solving the political and social Negro problem, but in educating and Christianizing him there are fundamental principles that should be considered and established in order to secure a reasonable basis upon which to build and proceed to success. This will require a careful study of the different races that are involved.

More Light Ahead

This is not the place to present the divergent views of scientists as to certain racial mental differences. That must be left to students of anthropology, and psychology, whose investigations have not yet reached undoubted conclusions. The day may come when out of their honest, patient investigations there will be evolved assured facts relating to the mind and spirit that will enable those who follow after them to labor more wisely for man's advancement and God's glory.

Time Required for Development

In dealing with or passing judgment upon any race, due consideration must be given to the history and status of that race in the life of humanity. It is in accord

with the laws of evolution to recognize the Negro as "a child race," that must proceed as all races have done through the processes of development to its highest and best. No race has risen as a whole with a sudden bound from one step in its evolution to another. There has always been first, individuals, then groups, that have appeared above the level of the mass and by their efforts, alone or aided, according to circumstances, have helped to lift up those on the lower plane. "Rome was not built in a day"; far less the peoples that formed the great Roman Empire.

Educational Advancement without Parallel

Looking back only a few generations to the African savage and less than fifty years to the slave, we see remarkable progress in the mental evolution of the American Negro. To expect that the whole race in so short a period of time would reach the highest level of civilization and of mental and moral development would be to demand of it a miracle such as no other race in the world has performed. Yet when we note such facts as that the literacy of the race has risen from five to about sixty per cent. in less than fifty years, we claim that such an educational

advancement is without parallel in a race, and it appears still more remarkable when we find a growing class of its men and women entering the higher ranks of educators and professional workers. With such facts before us we are ready to say that which God has begun to work out for the race and through the race for the world shall be accomplished. There is no cause for discouragement, when we look backward; and there is every reason to hope, when we look forward with the patience of faith.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER VI

AIM: TO REALIZE THE EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS AND NEEDS FOR FURTHER EFFORTS AMONG THE NEGROES.

1. Why is education fundamental to the best life of a nation?
2.* What should be the chief aims of education?
3. Can you give any reasons why the ignorant among any race should not be educated?
4.* What does a nation gain by educating its people?
5.* What is the effect of ignorance upon the industrial and social life of the people?
6. Why was the South not able to support schools among the Negroes immediately after the war?
7. What were the motives that caused the Freed-

men's Bureau to establish schools among the Negroes?

8. What is the extent of the public school system of education now supported by the Southern States in behalf of the Negroes?
9. What other agencies are assisting in the education of the Negro?
10.* Do you believe the Negro has improved in educational opportunities thus far? Give reasons.
11.* What is the comparative need and value of industrial and professional schools?
12. Is it just to use the same method of education among Negroes as among whites?
13. What type of schools should immediately be strengthened and why?
14. How much financial support can reasonably be expected from the Negroes?
15. Where and from what class must the educational leaders be secured, and why?
16. State in the order of importance the greatest educational needs among the Negroes.
17. Where can the money be secured to carry out these plans?

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER STUDY.—CHAPTER VI

Negro Education.[1]

Bratton: "The Christian South and the Education of the Negro," *Sewanee Review,* July, '08.

[1] For articles on the education of the Negro in mission schools, denominational periodicals and home mission magazines should be consulted. Other material on the question of education will be found in the United States Census and Bureau of Education, the Slater Fund Paper and the publications referred to in the previous references.

DuBois: The Souls of the Black Folk, VI.
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Washington: Working With the Hands, IV, XIX.

RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT

The slave had found in Christianity, often in rude, half-barbaric forms, a consolation, a refuge, a tenderness and hope, to which we can scarcely do justice. Perhaps its most eloquent expression to our imagination is those wonderful old-time melodies, the Negro "spirituals," as they have been made familiar by the singers of the Negro colleges. Their words are mystic, Scriptural, grotesque; the melodies have a pathos, a charm, a moving power, born out of the heart's depths through centuries of sorrow dimly lighted by glimmerings of a divine love and hope. The typical African temperament, the tragedy of bondage, the tenderness and triumph of religion, find voice in those psalms.

—George S. Merriam

To every man among them with the evident qualities of leadership we should lend our Christian sympathy and a helping hand. President Tucker, of Dartmouth College, was entirely correct when he said: "I believe with a growing conviction that the salvation of the Negro in this country lies with the exceptional men of that race." And those who have studied the philosophy of Christian missions and the progress of civilization will tell you that the same is true of all the peoples of the earth. We train and Christianize the exceptional men who are to be the real redeemers of their race, whether in China, Japan, India, or Africa.

—Charles B. Galloway

The various missionary societies . . . have done a work which, in a large degree, has been the salvation of the South; and the result will appear in future generations more than in this.

—Booker T. Washington

VII

RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT

Religious Development

THERE is no phase in the history of the Negro's progress more striking and remarkable than that of his religious development. This would become convincingly apparent to the most skeptical could they be transported to Africa and view the weird incantations of the savage fetich worshiper, and returning enter a Negro church where a congregation of earnest Christians listen intelligently to the preaching of the gospel by an educated minister, and such churches can be found in hundreds of communities.

Result of God's Grace

In his other dealings with the race God may have moved "in a mysterious way his wonders to perform," but his presence and grace are clearly manifest in the work of the Holy Spirit in these transformed lives. This has been done in accordance with his own divine plan for the redemption of the world—by the testimony of living witnesses, as, in obedience to his com-

mand, they preached the gospel to "every creature!"

Results of Work Among the Slaves

No study of the American Negro could be complete without a narrative of how this great change has been effected. Some general statements have been given in Chapter II, showing the many and varied difficulties that for a time seemed almost insurmountable to those who sought to evangelize the Negro slaves. The results of their efforts were seen in 1860, when nearly one-half of the 4,000,000 Negroes congregated in the South were either enrolled members of the Church, or under direct Christian influence and instruction. This story has been told in interesting detail by the Rev. C. C. Jones of Savannah, Georgia, in his book, *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes of the United States,* published in 1842; and in *The Gospel among the Slaves,* by Harrison and Barnes, which takes up Dr. Jones' account and carries the narrative down to 1865. From these two authentic sources the following statements are drawn.

Work Begun by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

The first organized effort to give gospel instruction to the Negroes in the American colonies was made in 1701 by the Society

for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts incorporated under William III. The first missionary, the Rev. Samuel Thomas, began work in South Carolina, where he and his successors met with " the ready good-will of the masters, though much discouragement was felt because of the difficulties of the task, not many of the Negroes understanding the English tongue." The zeal of the society and its missionaries increased, and in less than forty years the report was made of a " great multitude of Indians and Negroes brought over to the Christian faith " in different parts of the country, and later of a flourishing school at Charleston sending out annually about twenty young Negroes well instructed in English and the Christian faith.

Taken over by Protestant Episcopal Church

After the separation of the colonies from the mother country the Protestant Episcopal Church took up the work of the English society with increased interest and zeal, and in 1841 it reported in South Carolina alone 869 colored members in twenty-two churches, and fifteen Sunday-schools with 1,459 pupils, and also two plantation missions with congregations of 1,400 Ne-

groes. In Virginia a similar work was being done by the same methods.

Presbyterians A direct effort for the religious instruction of the Negroes was begun by Presbyterians in 1747 at Hanover, Virginia, with immediate success. About 1,000 Negroes attended the ministry of the Rev. Samuel Davis, at different points, who were eager to hear and readily accepted the gospel. Other missions were established and many godly men devoted their time to the work among the slaves both in the towns and on the plantations. Sunday-schools were established and the Bible and catechism were taught. The greatest work of this Church was in printing and freely distributing sermons and books addressed to the owners, urging them to give religious instruction to their servants. Their synods and Presbyteries adopted resolutions impressing this duty upon the masters, while increased efforts to evangelize the Negro continued fruitful in results, until retarded by the abolition excitement in the free States between the years 1839 and 1842.

Baptists As the result of sweeping revivals in the Baptist churches about 1785 and 1790, large numbers of Negroes were converted

and joined that Church. In 1793 its colored members numbered over 18,000 and twenty years later there were enrolled 40,000 members and a number of preachers and exhorters who preached to thousands of their own color on the plantations. In 1841 there were attached to this Church more Negro communicants and more regular houses of worship exclusively for Negroes with their own ordained preachers than to any other Church. Many Sunday-schools were reported, with large numbers of pupils.

Relation of Whites to Negroes

From the Rev. J. W. Jones of Richmond, Virginia, a leading Baptist divine and one well versed in the history of his denomination and of the South, the following information has been secured: "It was customary for our white pastors to hold special services for the Negroes in all of their churches, and each church had a special committee on the religious instruction of the Negroes. Our home mission board also had special missionaries among them. As a result of this work, it was estimated that in 1860 there were 400,000 Negroes belonging to the white Baptist churches of the South. Many individual Christians were

accustomed to have their Negroes attend their family worship and to give them special religious instruction besides.

Types of Missionary Work Among Negroes

"Indeed, no missionary work anywhere has been so successful as the work of Southern Christians among these people, whom old England and New England brought as pagans, and in some cases as cannibals, to our shores. Such Negro Sunday-schools as Stonewall Jackson's in Lexington, Virginia, Prof. John B. Minor's at the University of Virginia, Dr. James P. Bryce's and H. A. Tuppin's in Charleston, South Carolina, and Dr. J. C. Furman's in Greenville, South Carolina (all men of note), were but specimens of the general work which the Southern white people did for the Negro people."

In 1860 the number of Negro Baptists was estimated at 400,000, and counting three adherents to each of these baptized adults we have 1,200,000 Negroes under the instruction and influence of that Church.

Methodists

One of the first missionaries of Methodism in the United States (1766) reports successful work among the Negroes. In describing a Virginia revival in about 1770

he says, "Hundreds of Negroes were there with tears streaming down their faces . . . as they expressed their love for Jesus." In 1797 there were 12,215 colored members and in less than twenty years later there were nearly four times that number. The objections made at first by slave-owners to these efforts to Christianize the Negroes passed away, as they witnessed the effect of the gospel upon them, and the preachers were encouraged and aided in their labors, especially in the plantation missions, until suspicion of their motives was aroused by the anti-slavery movement in this Church. Later, this being removed, the work again prospered. In 1861 the colored membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was 207,776. Counting three adherents to each enrolled member, we have 623,328 Negro slaves under the instruction of this Church. During the forty-four years of its slave mission period the Methodist Episcopal Church (North and South) paid out upward of $2,000,000 for Christianizing the Negro slaves.

White Christians Aiding Negroes

In the year 1864, when every resource was well-nigh exhausted, the white Chris-

tians of the South gave for Negro religious instruction about $250,000.

Methods of Work

As to the methods used, this great work was accomplished largely by the direct preaching of the gospel, aided by much personal work of missionaries and Christian owners, and also by careful instruction in the Bible and catechism. It was usual in the towns for both races to be members of the same congregation, to worship in the same house (separate sittings being provided for the colored members), and to receive the sacrament from the same altar. In some instances separate churches were built for them, where they were preached to by white pastors or an approved colored minister.

Plantation Missions Organized

The necessity for a different provision for evangelizing the large masses of the Negroes who were on the plantations became apparent as early as 1821, and "plantation missions" were organized to meet the needs, first by the Methodists in South Carolina and afterward in other sections and by other churches. Place is given here for a description of that work from an address by the Rev. L. F. Beaty, before the historical society of the South

Carolina Conference, because what he says is applicable to the same class of work done all through the Southern States and by other churches.

Increased Attention to Religious Improvement of Negroes

"It was found that the regular ministry did not reach the river deltas of the 'low country' where on sugar, rice, and cotton plantations were segregated large numbers of Negroes who had but few advantages of civilization, and little knowledge of God and his Word. But the day of their deliverance was at hand. . . . In 1821 the Missionary Society of the South Carolina Conference was organized, and with it began an increased attention to the religious improvement of the blacks. Dr. Capers, afterward Bishop, was profoundly interested and through him appeals came to send regular missionaries to their slave plantations from the Hon. Chas. C. Pinckney, Col. Lewis Morris, and Mr. Chas. Baring—names written high in the annals of the State. These gentlemen and many others were ever after warm supporters of this cause, and by their strong personal influence contributed largely to its ultimate success.

"Not only were these South Carolina

Plantation Missions General

planters interested in the salvation of their slaves, but the Southern people as a whole demanded kind treatment and religious training in their behalf, as witness the later fact that a great statesman of Mississippi, almost omnipotent in political influence, was hurled from place and power because he was regarded as unsound on the great issue, plantation preaching. . . .

Coöperation of Slave Owners

"The assistance which many of the planters and their families gave the missionaries was invaluable. They not only provided places of worship, but they did all they could to encourage the attendance of the Negroes upon religious services. They assisted in teaching the little Negroes the Word of God, and in the absence of the missionary, held regigious services for the older ones. Many a dying slave had the couch of death softened by the tender ministrations of these faithful Christian owners. . . .

Missionaries Welcomed

One of the most interesting sights in plantation life was the missionary's arrival; his hearty greeting from scores and sometimes hundreds of little Negroes, crying 'Preacher's come!' which was followed by a general preparation for the

catechising service, the singing of hymns he had taught them, and prayers. . . . Often the master and his family took part in the service held in a plain church prepared for it. . . . After this came the class-meetings conducted by the preacher, and they were fruitful of good. The prayer-meetings were often occasions of great power and blessing. Besides faithful catechising, all ages were taught the Apostle's Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer. Visits were made by the preacher to the aged and sick, and often the cabin home became the very antechamber of heaven.

First Missionaries and Results

" The first missionaries appointed (by the South Carolina Conference) to the people ' of color ' (in 1829), were John Honour, John H. Massey, and James Dannelly, under the superintendence of Dr. Capers, and 657 members were gained during the year. In 1838, only nine years later, there were in that Conference 6,556 members in the twelve plantation missions (besides the 23,498 members in the regular charges), and 25,025 Negro children studying the catechism prepared by Bishop Capers. In 1864 in that one State alone

there were thirty-two missionaries giving their whole time to this work, with 13,373 members of the missions, and $42,475 collected for its maintenance (and this notwithstanding the war was in progress with its ' hard times ')."

Methodist Episcopal Church Condemns Slavery

This work was wrought out in the face of many difficulties—but a still greater obstacle was added in the antagonism aroused in the public mind by the attitude of the Church toward slavery. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1800 condemned Negro slavery in strong terms and urged its abolishment. The resolutions embodying this pronouncement were published, probably, by every newspaper in the South, and this was calculated to destroy the Methodist Church in that section. Later stringent enactments and a continual agitation of the subject embittered many against that Church. The antislavery sentiment was stronger in the South before this position was taken than it was at any subsequent time. It proved to be injurious to the preachers, the Church, and to the slaves themselves. Every Methodist preacher was regarded as an abolition agent, and indiscreet ones

among them, trying to carry out the resolutions of the Conference, brought upon themselves the violence of the lawless elements of society. Persecution against those who undertook to preach to the Negroes was now rife in every direction.

Methodist Declaration Aroused Suspicion and Animosity

"No apology can, or ought to be, made for those miscreants who resorted to violence in their treatment of Methodist preachers, not because they cared for the slaves or their masters, but because they loved deeds of violence. But the truth of history requires it to be stated that the Methodist Church had assumed the position of an abolitionist society, and it was natural that this should excite the suspicions of the slaveholders, arouse the animosity and opposition of those who were non-christian, and render the Church generally unpopular. It required almost a whole generation of time to overcome this hostility. Where the Negroes were mingled with the white family, worshiping under the same roof and taught by the same minister, it was easy enough to break down the prejudice."[1] But on the large plantations, where the overseer and his

[1] Harrison and Barnes, *The Gospel Among the Slaves*, 143.

family were the only white people, who could assure the owner that under the pretense of preaching the gospel his Negroes would not be stirred up to rebellion?

Violent Opposition to Abolitionists also in North

Violent expressions of disapproval of abolition doctrines were not limited to the South. William Lloyd Garrison was mobbed and dragged through the streets of Boston in 1835, barely escaping with his life, and the entire press of the city, with one or two exceptions, approved the action of the mob. The English abolitionist, George Thompson, had a narrow escape from a mob in Concord, Massachusetts, and also in Augusta, Maine. Whittier was pelted with mud and stones. Prudence Crandall, for teaching colored girls in Canterbury, Connecticut, was subjected to persistent, barbarous persecution. The shops and meeting-houses were closed against her and her pupils. "Carriage in public conveyance was denied them; physicians would not wait on them; Miss Crandall's own family and friends were forbidden under many fines to visit her; the well was filled with manure, and water from other sources refused; the house itself was smeared with filth, assailed with rotten

eggs, and finally set on fire."[1] At last Miss Crandall was expelled from the State by law, and an act was passed by the legislature prohibiting private schools for non-resident colored people and providing for their expulsion. At Canaan, New Hampshire, the Noyes Academy, "open to pupils of both colors," in pursuance of a formal town meeting vote was dragged from the land within the corporate limits of the town and the teacher and colored pupils given a month in which to quit the town.

Example of Bishop Capers and Others

It was largely left to the Methodist preachers in the South to stem this opposing current of public opinion. The example of the illustrious Bishop Capers was followed by many of the preachers and the owners becoming convinced that, instead of creating trouble and strife, the preaching of such men as these did much to preserve peace and good conduct among the Negroes, gave their full consent for their slaves to hear the gospel from these white missionaries.

The division of the Methodist Church, in 1844, was regarded by wise and good

[1] *Life of William Lloyd Garrison*, 321.

men of that time as a necessity, to prevent the destruction of the Church in the South.[1] The immediate result of the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was the breaking down of every barrier in preaching the gospel to the slaves. The call for missionaries was heard throughout the whole of the South, where large numbers of slaves existed.

Whole South Aroused to Missions to Slaves

"The religious sentiment of the whole Southern country became keenly and jealously aroused in behalf of slave missions. Every effort within the power of her Christian people was put forth to furnish the Negro, especially the plantation Negro, the light of the gospel. Men, women, and even little children contributed to the fund. . . . High and low alike entered into this noble work. There was no phase of it too humble, no duty too unpleasant, to deter the most earnest and painstaking effort."[2] All the churches shared in this revival of interest, especially the Baptist, which out-

[1] Reference is made to the division of the Methodist Episcopal Church because of its historical importance and wide-spread effect on this work among the slaves. The divisions that occurred in other Churches were later and had little or no connection with slavery.

[2] Harrison and Barnes, *The Gospel Among the Slaves*, 302.

stripped all others in its Negro membership.

Strongest Men Sent

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, never held in its richest Churches, nor sent to any mission field, men of higher order of intellect, culture, or consecration than those who were appointed by it as superintendents and pastors of its missions among the Southern slaves. Bishops Andrew, Capers, Early, McTyire, and Fitzgerald; Drs. McFerrin, Evans, and many others, though called in after years to fill the highest offices in the Church, accounted among their richest experiences and happiest work that which came to them as missionaries to the Negroes.

Marvelous Change Wrought

There was scarcely any comparison now between the condition of these plantation Negroes and their state when this work of evangelization was begun among them. Then, "ignorant, superstitious, grossly immoral, it was like seeking to pierce impenetrable darkness. Thousands of them could speak English in only a broken way, while hundreds still jabbered their African dialects. It was pitiful to hear them trying to pray in their broken language."[1] Now,

[1] Harrison and Barnes, *The Gospel Among the Slaves*, 305.

many of those who had received the gospel seed in hearts, made fertile by the Holy Spirit, became themselves the sowers of the Word. And so this work of grace grew and multiplied, until thousands and thousands were converted to Christ and by their lives gave abundant evidence of his righteousness.

Religious Experience Gained in Slavery

Christian Negroes gained, while in slavery, not only a true mental conception of God, but a spiritual perception of his truth which their related experiences and prayers made manifest to those who heard them in that day. A record of this fact has been preserved and handed down to later generations in their songs, and of them more than of any other people it may be said, " Their songs are the voice of the soul." To those well versed in what are called Plantation Melodies, it is clear that not only did the Negro possess an orthodox theology but it possessed him, permeating, as it did, his whole life, and molding his religious experience.

Negro Melodies

" The Negro was ever singing; he sang of his troubles and hopes, his bondage and his freedom. Mingled with these were echoes of his struggles with sin, his striv-

ing after godliness, his fleeing from Satan, his search for God.'' [1]

Mission Work after the Civil War

After the Civil War there were some sporadic efforts made by the Southern white people to continue or renew the work of Christianizing the Negroes with past methods; but this was rendered difficult and often impossible by the conditions that prevailed during the Reconstruction Period. Kindly feeling for them still existed with many, and the hand of help was extended whenever and wherever those conditions made it possible. The attitude of the Negro mind toward the white people who had once owned them caused them to refuse to occupy the sittings formerly assigned them in the white churches, and to seek to build their own churches.

Methodists

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in organizing its colored members into a separate Church bestowed on them all the churches it had built for their distinctive use—a rich gift—and aided them in every possible way. A large number of its colored members, however, went into the Methodist Episcopal Church and into the

[1] Proctor, *Southern Workman*, November, 1907. The author is much indebted to this writer for some suggestions in the detailed account of Plantation Melodies given in Appendix B.

African Methodist Episcopal Church, from which bodies they received much help in the building of churches and in the education and support of the ministry.

Baptists and Others

The Baptist congregations had less difficulty in securing and maintaining a distinct Negro Church, for they had more churches for their exclusive use while slaves, and these were retained by them without the necessity of legal procedure. These also have received help from both Southern and Northern friends of that denomination as the years have gone by. Other Churches have aided in the direct work of evangelization by preaching the gospel and in building churches for the Negroes.

Work of Christian Schools

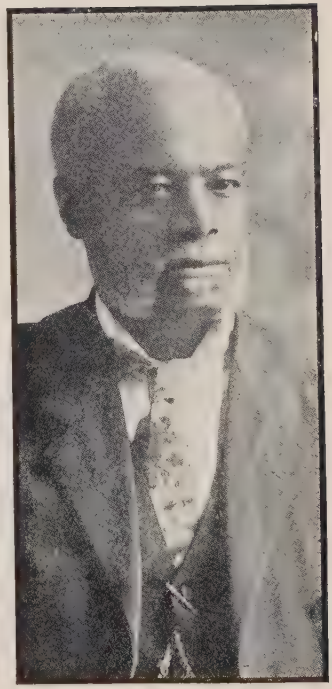
But by far the greatest work for their religious betterment since emancipation has been done through the Christian schools established for their benefit by the white churches and mission boards, North and South, and by their own intelligent efforts resulting from the advantages thus gained.

Growth in Church Organization

We have noted the progress of the American Negro as a citizen in his industrial and economic attainments, his home

W. T. VERNON
Register of the Treasury

JAMES S. RUSSELL
Archdeacon for Work among Negroes in Southern Virginia



W. S. SCARBOROUGH
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and social life, his political, criminal, and physical status. We have also seen him as a student in all the different phases of his educational world. We must now turn our attention to the still more important side of his nature, the spiritual, and consider him as a Christian, and see how far he has advanced in Church organization and attainment in righteousness. Religious statistics are always difficult to obtain because of the inaccuracy of Church records. This is markedly the case among the Negroes, and the difficulty is increased by the fact that some white Churches have Negro members whom they do not report separately.

Denominational Statistics

The majority of the Negroes are Baptists or Methodists. In Dr. Strong's *Social Progress,* for 1906 the combined reports of eight Negro Methodist organizations place their membership at 1,863,258, with 14,844 regular preachers and 30,725 local preachers. Their Church property is valued at $22,267,298. The colored Baptist Churches report a membership of 2,038,427, with 16,080 ministers, and Church property valued at $12,196,130. There are some Baptist organizations with

a considerable following of which no report could be obtained. Besides these, there are a large number of colored members in the following Churches: Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian (North and South), Reformed Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal, Congregational, Disciples of Christ, some small Methodist bodies, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic. Considering the rate of growth in the past it will be a safe estimate to say that at this time there are 4,500,000 enrolled as Church members, and at least 3,000,000 adherents; or that more than two thirds of the entire Negro population are related to some Church.

African Methodist Episcopal Church

The first general Church organization for Negroes only was the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which was effected under the leadership of Richard Allen. "This was owing to a defection among the colored members in Philadelphia, by which upward of 1,000 in that city withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church. . . . At their first General Conference Richard Allen was elected Bishop."[1] This Church spread slowly at first through the Northern States but did not come South until af-

[1] Bangs, *History of Methodism.*

ter the Civil War. Now it is widely distributed, having 762,580 members and property valued at $10,360,131. It has to-day in Africa one hundred and eighty mission stations with 12,000 members, besides missions in Canada and the West Indies. It supports at home twenty-five schools, with about 4,000 pupils and property valued at $535,000.

African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church

The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church was organized in New York and had a similar history to the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Its last available report claims 575,271 members and Church property of all kinds valued at $5,102,567. It has established and maintained nineteen schools. These two Churches have united and the consolidated organization forms one of the largest denominations in this country. It is possible that other smaller Negro Methodist denominations will in the near future unite with them.

Colored Methodist Episcopal Church and Others

The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1866 by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, out of its colored members. Two bishops of their own election were ordained, and all Church

property that had been acquired, held, and used for Methodist Negroes was turned over to them. This Church has now 209,-972 communicants and property valued at $2,525,600. It suports five schools and has a publishing house worth $20,000. There are four smaller Methodist organizations and the Methodist Episcopal Church has 292,109 colored members.

National Baptist Convention

The first Baptist church for colored people was organized in Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1796. There are now six Baptist denominations, the largest being known as the Regular Baptists and has 1,348,989 members with property valued at $9,038,-549. "These Baptist churches unite in associations and State conventions for missionary and educational work. For a long time, however, it seemed impossible to unite any large number of them in a national convention, but this has at last been done. The National Baptist Convention (all Negroes) was organized at Atlanta, Georgia, September 28, 1895. Its objects are missionary and educational work and the publication of religious literature."[1]

The most remarkable result of the

[1] Atlanta University Publications, No. 8.

united effort of the Negro Baptists is the home mission department, including the publishing house. For these purposes in 1902 they expended $81,658. They have established foreign missions in various parts of Africa, the West Indies, South America, and Russia. In these missions they support thirty-seven missionaries and a large number of native helpers. Of the missionaries, eight are American Negroes and eleven are native Africans who have received their education in America. Through its educational department, this Church maintains in America eighty schools, with probably 6,000 or 7,000 pupils. They are for the most part primary and secondary schools, and supplement the public schools. School property is valued at $564,000, and they raised in 1902 the sum of $127,941 for education. Forty-three periodicals are published by them.

Negro Baptist Home and Foreign Missions

The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) reported in 1908 a membership of 55,881 and 475 ministers in strictly Negro churches. The Congregational, Presbyterian, Cumberland Presbyterian, and Episcopal Negro Churches are largely the immediate result of the educational institu-

Disciples of Christ and Other Denominations

tions of these Churches, and as a general thing their ministers and congregations are from the educated class, but they are few in number and increase slowly. The membership of these four denominations numbers about 65,000. They have no distinct general organizations, but are affiliated with the white churches through whose missionary effort they were organized.

Roman Catholics

There are but few Roman Catholics outside of Louisiana and other parts of the country that were formerly under French or Spanish domination. No statistics concerning them could be obtained.

Missionary and Benevolent Societies

In all of these Churches there are women's missionary societies more or less developed and effective. There are also many benevolent societies that do much local home mission and charity work. There are generally societies of various kinds for young people and children. The difficulty of procuring correct data of these organizations renders it impossible to even estimate their numerical or spiritual force. Outside of the regular preaching service, the Sunday-school is the most universal and best developed feature in all the Churches, and the teaching and training of

Sunday-school teachers presents a large opportunity to those who desire to do local missionary work among the Negroes.

Young Men's Christian Association

The Young Men's Christian Association is doing a good and growing work both in city and college. There are at present one hundred and twenty-six colored associations with a membership of 9,198, and sixteen buildings are owned, valued at $185,900. There are twenty-eight secretaries employed by the local associations.

CHURCH CONDITIONS AND METHODS

The Atlanta University has issued as one of its social studies a pamphlet designated "The Negro Church."[1] Though one may not agree with all the conclusions drawn, yet the first-hand investigations it presents are very valuable. These investigations are made by intelligent, educated Negroes in different localities, North and South, and are generally based on the following inquiries:

1. What is the condition of the churches?
2. What is the influence of the churches?

[1] This pamphlet is prepared and edited by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, of the Atlanta University, who is one of the leading Negroes in the South in the advocacy of higher education. That publication is responsible for the statements under this heading.

3. Are the ministers good?
4. What charity work is done?
5. What is done for the young people?
6. Are moral standards being raised?

The responses made to these questions are remarkable chiefly for their diversity, running from one end of the gamut of opinion to the other—from the extreme of optimism to the extreme of pessimism. This is what might be expected in any investigation of the religious life of individuals or of communities, yet the facts and illustrations upon which these opinions are based are extremely interesting and suggestive. It would not be possible here to give more than a brief summary of these, with a few items especially illustrative.

Black Belt County in Georgia

In a "black belt" county of Georgia there are ninety-eight churches of all denominations, the Baptist predominating, for a Negro population of 17,450. "Unlike most of our American population, the Negro is well churched. It is his only institution and forms the center of his public life." Many of these churches have been formed as the result of "a split" caused by internal dissension, and not from the home mission work of the larger

churches. These churches demand the shout-producing preacher, and value his ability to preach "rousement" sermons more than his education or morals. The result is that young men of ability and education are driven out of the ministry and the Church has no influence over those of both sexes who have been to college nor can draw them to its services, except as it furnishes them amusement. Inordinate rivalry exists between the denominations to the extent of "petty meannesses," and money ranks a member higher than morality. There are about one hundred and twenty preachers in the county. The number might be doubled if there were added all who call themselves preachers and who try to interpret the Word of God. Out of forty-three applicants for admission to a Methodist Conference, thirty-five were refused, but that did not deter them from preaching.

Preachers are the Leaders

Learned or unlearned, the Negro preacher is to-day the leader of the race. The ignorant preacher has an ignorant wife and their home life is on no higher level than those of the congregation. In morality they have much to learn: moral-

ity as it affects (1) temperance, (2) debt-paying and business honesty, (3) sexual relations. Responses from intelligent laymen in this county generally accuse the preachers of being sexually immoral and many say "the influence of the Church is bad," yet these statements are contradicted by others who say "the moral standards are being raised." One says, "There are fewer separations of husbands and wives, and fewer illegitimate children."

Farmville Institutional Church

At Farmville, Virginia, a small town, there is a Baptist church that in a way is a good representative of the down-town or institutional church so strongly advocated by many Church leaders. The auditorium is large and attractive. "It is the central club-house of the Baptist part of the [Negro] community. Various organizations meet there, entertainments and lectures are given, and the whole social life centers there. The unifying and directing force is, however, in religious exercises of some sort. The result of this is not so much that recreation and social life have become stiff and austere, but rather that religious exercises have acquired a free and

St. Athanasius' Protestant Episcopal Church,
Brunswick, Georgia

First Baptist Church, Richmond, Virginia

easy expression and in some respects serve as amusements. For instance, the camp-meeting is a picnic with incidental sermons and singing; the rally of the country churches, called the ' big meetin',' is the occasion of the pleasantest social intercourse, with a free barbecue; the Sunday-school convention and the various preachers' conventions are occasions of reunions and festivities. Even the weekly Sunday service serves as a pleasant meeting-place for working people who find little time for visiting during the week. . . .

Church Also Social Center

" From these facts, however, one must not hastily form the conclusion that the religion of such churches is hollow or their spiritual influence wanting. While under present circumstances the Negro church cannot be simply a spiritual agency, but must also be a social, intellectual, and economic center, it nevertheless is a spiritual center of wide influence that carries nothing immoral or baneful. The sermons are apt to be fervent repetitions of an orthodox Calvinism . . . with strong condemnation of the grosser sins and of gossip and ' meanness.' . . . There are long-continued revivals, but with fewer of the

wild scenes of excitement that used to be the rule."[1]

Churches in Atlanta

In the city of Atlanta, where there was in 1900 a Negro population of 35,727, there are fifty-four churches—twenty-nine Baptist and twenty-one Methodist—and only four of other denominations. Their united membership is 16,261 and church property is valued at $252,508. Some of the churches have good buildings and large congregations. Some of them are in debt and some are small and the membership poor. The characters of the pastors are pronounced good, and their education fair, though there are some exceptions. The education of the members varies from "fair" to "very poor."

Large and Small Membership

Many of the most influential wealthy churches of this city are Baptist, while others of that denomination are among the poorest. One of the latter class claims only six active members and another only fourteen, while one of the first class has 1,560 active members that include some of the best colored people of the city and has less than a hundred illiterate persons. The pastor has a good character and a

[1] Atlanta University Publications, No. 8, pp. 81, 82.

good education. It has one of the largest Sunday-schools in the city, supports two missions, and does a large amount of charity work.

Activities of Other Atlanta Churches

One of the largest Methodist churches in Atlanta has 500 active members and is composed of the best class of working people with a large number of educated people and graduates of schools. The pastor is "a gentleman and an honest man." It supports a salaried deaconess to take charge of its charitable work. It does much for its young people, having a large Sunday-school, besides classes in cooking and sewing and a week-day class in religious training. Another Methodist church has 600 active members, and a total membership of 1,400 composed of some of the most influential and cultured colored people in the city, a considerable number of them being school-teachers and property owners. The church is a handsome edifice that cost $50,000 and seats 3,000 people. It expends much in charity, and last year contributed $360 for missions. The pastor has a good character and a good education.

Other Denominations in Atlanta

The pastors of the Congregational, Episcopal, and Presbyterian Churches of

Atlanta are described as having excellent characters and as finely educated. Most of the members are educated and a large per cent. are business and professional men and women. The four have a combined membership of 883.

Conditions in Richmond

Conditions at Richmond, Virginia, are similar to those in Atlanta. There are fewer churches, but these have a larger membership and their church buildings are better. In fact, these conditions with some modifications are found in many cities of the South.

Descriptions are Typical

These descriptions of different classes of city and country churches in Georgia and Virginia may serve as illustrations of the conditions existing throughout the South, varying more or less according to the local conditions of education, wealth, and personal preference. There are some good and some bad preachers, some educated and some ignorant congregations, some handsome churches and some dirty hovels. Many churches are in debt. The preachers in the country churches and small towns are generally poorly paid, but they usually live as well as their congregations, who are as liberal

as their own scant incomes admit. The Negro churches in the North vary in character as they do in the South, and as a whole are neither better nor worse.

New York City Churches

In New York City there are not less than 30,000 Negroes who are crystallized around three most undesirable centers. There are nine churches and three missions belonging to the different denominations. " The aggregate church membership is very little less than 4,000. The average attendance upon worship at night (nobody there attends a colored church to any extent except at night) is nearly 3,000. . . . There are only 1,725 pupils in the Sunday-schools, with an average attendance of 1,200. There is a lack of competent teachers and of means to procure better facilities, and many families are too poor to supply decent clothing for their children. . . . The church property is valued at $617,500, with an indebtedness on it of $100,000, while less than $100,000 has been contributed by white people to the aid of these better places of worship. . . . A few individual members are in comfortable circumstances, but not one would be rightly considered wealthy. . . . The colored ten-

ants pay a higher rent than any other class, and they must feed and clothe themselves with all the chances in the industrial field against them. . . . There is a constant stream of colored immigrants from the South, mostly unskilled laborers, and their simple Southern faith does not seem to stand very well the chilling touch of a Northern atmosphere. . . . Many refuse to affiliate with our churches. . . . Exposed to the temptations of city life, the number of them that drift back into sin is appalling."[1]

Conditions in Philadelphia

In 1900 Philadelphia had 62,613 Negroes. There were fifty-five churches in all, with 13,000 members and property valued at $910,000. "The social life centers in the church and this central clubhouse tends to become more and more luxuriously furnished. . . . The average Negro preacher in this city is a shrewd manager, a respectable man, a good talker, a pleasant companion, but neither learned nor spiritual, nor a reformer. The moral standards are set by the congregation and vary from church to church."[2]

Conditions in Chicago

Conditions are much better in Eastern

[1] "The Religious Condition of New York City," 58-62.

[2] DuBois, "The Philadelphia Negro," 204.

cities than in Chicago. The Negro population there was over 30,000 in 1900, and out of that number there were only about 5,000 active Church members reported in the thirty-two churches. Only sixteen of these churches own the places where they worship, and all but two carry large debts. All church property is valued at $178,800. Some of the preachers are reported as "immoral," or "intemperate," or "dishonest;" some of the congregations are described as "intelligent," "rather intelligent," and "ignorant." "As a rule the churches are marked with inefficiency and a lack of a proper regard for the moral development of the people in honesty, sexual purity, and other virtues. The larger churches, some of them imposing edifices, are largely attended by fashionably dressed people. The smaller ones have a hard struggle to exist. There is a constant demand for money in all of them." "The young people of the intellectual class are not attracted to the church. . . . One of the largest churches set a premium upon ignorance and drove the younger element from the church. . . . A very small percentage of our profes-

sional men and women are regular in their church attendance."[1]

Standards of Life Being Raised

"The standards of life are being raised, and there is a marked improvement in the matter of purity of life," says Dr. H. B. Frissell, the President of Hampton Institute, who has had twenty-one years of experience in the schools and homes of the colored people. There are various grades of morality among Negroes (as among other people), and a vast work yet remains to be done for them and by them that they may be fully Christianized, but it is due to them that they "be sometimes judged by their best and not always by their worst."

Large Mass to be Uplifted

Large masses of the people both on the plantations and in city slums are fearfully ignorant and immoral. They are still under the sway of superstition; there is scanty school training in many rural districts for only a few months in the year; there is nothing from the better outside life to stimulate mind or spirit; no influence except in the church for their uplift, and, alas! this is often lacking because the preacher is no whit above themselves either in knowledge or morality.

[1] Atlanta University Publications, No. 8.

Plantations in Need

"It has been said that the Negro plantation preacher is the curse of the people. Honesty, truth, and purity are not taught, because neither he nor the people have come to realize that these virtues are essential to the religious life. The ethical power of Christianity is scarcely felt. The time is ripe for a forward gospel campaign in the great, needy 'back country' of the Black Belt."[1]

Call for General Campaign

A campaign is needed that will include both the evangelist and the pastor, who should be a patient instructor in righteousness. These people need not only to accept the truth, but to be established and built up in the truth—to be Christianized as well as evangelized.

Religious Nature of the Negro

It is coming to be more and more a habit of thought and speech to put ethics and emotion on different sides of the religious balances, and to presuppose that where the latter exists to any great degree the former is lacking. Growing out of this view, a demand almost is made upon the Negro to repress his emotional nature, to forbid its expression in his religious services, and by this to give evidence that he

[1] Atlanta University Publications, No. 8.

has progressed in the true religious life and attained to the ethical stage. What would Wesley and Whitefield and Finney and hundreds of great "preachers of righteousness" in the past, and Evan Roberts, one of the greatest evangelists of to-day, say of this doctrine of repression?

Emotional Expressions Misunderstood

That the Negro has an emotional religion has been dwelt upon in the discussions of the spiritual side of his life and counted against his possession of the real religious experience. His shouting, moans of grief, and tears of joy, fervent ejaculations, vivid experiences, all are regarded as simply the physical excitement of the ignorant and often of the immoral. A protest must be entered here against such misunderstanding of the Negro Christian who thus expresses his emotion. Of course there may be, and unquestionably are, many hypocrites among them (certainly there are among white people), who thus ape what they think will give the appearance of piety, and many who transcend all the bounds of propriety, even decency. Of these there are a great number whose every-day lives are far from being pious or moral. These and their demonstrations

are the counterfeit of the real Christians who "let their joys be known," and their inconsistent lives should receive Church discipline, and firm restraint should be put upon their unseemly exercises. These persons should not, however, be taken as a type of a large body of Christians.

Christian Religion Emotion of Love

The Christian religion is based on the emotion of love. Jesus said the first and greatest commandment was to love God, and the second to love mankind, and that on these two "hang all the law and the prophets." The fruits of the Spirit are expressed in the terms of emotion—"love, joy, peace"—and out of these comes as a natural growth a righteous life. Since, according to Christ's words, all true Christians possess an emotional religion, the seen difference in them must be that some desire and are able to control those emotions in their outward expression and some do not. There are three classes of people who are noticeably lacking in self-control of any kind—young children, ignorant people, and mentally or morally weak people.

The Negro is a child race in its development. In the African wilds they did

Emotional Expression Varies in Races and Individuals

not learn how to control either their emotions or appetites, and these grew weak through indulgence. In slavery they were controlled in everything else more than in these. Self-control means self-mastery and belongs to maturity of life, and is the result of mental and moral training. There are very many Negroes, as we have seen, who are very ignorant, and these, like ignorant, untrained people of other races, are easily swayed by their feelings, whatever they may be, and give uncontrolled expression to them. It is also true that some races are more demonstrative than others—the Latin races more than the Teutonic, the Negro more than the Indian—some individuals more than others of the same race, and even of the same family.

Naturally a Religious Temperament

The Negro as a race may be said to have a religious temperament. He has heart power, the power of loving, and a vivid imagination that lays hold with strong faith on the unseen. When he has come into the Christian life and before he has learned self-control he finds great satisfaction in giving outward expression to the deep feelings that fill his heart and over-

master him. As self-control is gained, the outward, physical demonstrations gradually cease with him as with the educated of other races. While the ignorant masses of Negroes, especially in the rural districts, have not outgrown the "noisy meeting," the process of evolution along the educational and social lines is manifested in that the better educated, more refined Negroes have left these things behind them. It would be as genuine a surprise to some of their best city congregations to hear a shout in their midst as such a demonstration would be in a neighboring white church.

Emotion and Ethics Possible Companions

While all this is true, a protest must be entered against the idea that because a Christian, white or black, man or woman, gives outward manifestation to the inward joy, therefore there is no intelligent conception of divine truths or that there is a lack of their ethical expression in the life. During the days of slavery, many of those who were "shouting Christians" were also living members of the body of Christ, and walked in their integrity uncondemned before God and man, and there are such persons living to-day whose godly, unsel-

fish lives would be an example to some who have better control over their emotions. The Negroes as a race may not yet possess the highly cultured conscience that would enable them to deal with fine turns of casuistry and hair-splitting ethics, but let them have time—the processes of development in the spirit world are as slow as in the natural—give them time and help them to know God's Word and love God's will, and the hope may be entertained that they will grow into a race of good men and women who are good because they love God and delight to do his will.

Soul Culture and Mental Culture Needed

God grant that soul culture may be kept in line with mental culture in the Negro's progress! There is every reason to hope that it will be, since much of the help that has come to him has come from the Church of God, and, still more, because of his own religious temperament. In God's great plan for the redemption of the world, who can say what part of his purpose is reserved for this race to accomplish? Let the race look to it that it be ready to carry out that purpose when made manifest by him who rules the hearts and destinies of men and of worlds.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER VII

AIM: TO ESTIMATE THE NEGRO'S RELIGIOUS PROGRESS, AND THE PRESENT RELIGIOUS NEEDS AMONG THE NEGROES

1.* Describe the Negro's religion when he came to America.
2.* What was his idea of the relation of moral conduct to his religion?
3. Is it an easy task to supplant old beliefs and superstitions? Why not?
4. By what organizations was the first missionary work done among the Negroes?
5. Describe the beginning of the work done by your denomination.
6. What was the relation of the whites in the South to these missionary efforts?
7. How were the missionaries received by the owners and slaves on plantations?
8. What denomination in the South was especially active in the campaign for the aboliton of slavery?
9. How did the antislavery movement retard missionary effort?
10.* Tabulate the progress in religious development among the Negroes up to the time of the Civil War.
11. Describe the attitude of the two races in the South toward each other immediately after the war.
12. What was the effect of these conditions upon the religious life of the Negro?
13.* What conclusions would you reach in estimating the growth of Negro independent Churches?
14. In what directions are they best developed?
15.* Where do you consider conditions more favor-

able for the religious development of the Negro in the rural or urban communities, in the North or the South? State reasons.

16.* Can the Negroes provide for their own religious needs? Give reasons for and against.

17.* If you had $50,000 to invest in the religious uplift of the Negroes, where would you place it, and why?

18* Sum up in the order of importance what you consider the greatest and most pressing religious needs among the Negroes.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER STUDY.—CHAPTER VII

Religious Work Among Negroes.[1]

DuBois: The Souls of the Black Folk, X.
Washington and DuBois: The Negro in the South, IV.
Whipple: Negro Neighbors, IV.

[1] For the most recent information regarding the religious condition of the Negro, the denominational home mission magazines should be read.

THE NEXT STEP: NEED AND SUPPLY

I would not presume to speak dogmatically as to the mind of God with reference to the future status of the Negro. . . . On what specific lines the race will move through the coming centuries, I dare not attempt to prophesy. But I do know that all our dealings with these people should be in spirit and according to the ethics of the Man of Galilee. What is best for them now should be the measure of present duty, leaving the future to the hands of him who knows the end from the beginning. And we must insist that the Negro have equal opportunity with every American citizen to fulfil to himself the highest purposes of an all-wise and beneficent Providence.

—Charles B. Galloway

The slaves brought into the South a few centuries ago, in ignorance, in superstition, and weakness, are now a free people, multiplied into 8,000,000; they are surrounded, protected, encouraged, educated in hand, heart, and head, given the full protection of the law, the highest justice meted out to them through courts and legislative enactments, they are stimulated and not oppressed, made citizens and not aliens, made to understand by word and act that in proportion as they show themselves worthy to bear responsibilities, the greater opportunities will be given them. I see them loving you, trusting you, adding to the wealth, the intelligence, the renown of each Southern commonwealth. In turn, I see you confiding in them, ennobling them, beckoning them on to the highest success, and we have all been made to appreciate in full that,

> "The slave's chain and the master's alike are broken,
> The one curse of the race held both in tether;
> They are rising, all are rising,
> The black and white together."

—Booker T. Washington

VIII

THE NEXT STEP: NEED AND SUPPLY

Past Progress an Incentive

WE have seen the great extent of missionary effort for the Negro which has been made along educational lines, and also that to the schools established and maintained for his benefit is due not only his mental development, but much of the religious advancement that has come to him since his emancipation. We have also seen that missionary work for him has not been limited to the schools and that which emanated from the schools. Direct work has been done in building churches and supporting the regular ministry and, to some extent, lay missionaries. The very fact that so much has been done in the past with such large results only emphasizes the importance of continuing through this work to obey our Lord's command. Not only did he commission us to preach the gospel to every creature, but to "make disciples of all the nations," and to teach

them to " observe all things " that he commanded. To those acquainted with the facts it is unnecessary to say that we have not yet taught this nation to know and observe the " all things " of Christ. Nor does this statement surprise those who have knowledge of missionary work among any people.

Lack of Coöperation a Waste

It would afford both an interesting and an inspiring study to take the records of each denomination and sum up the united efforts of the Church of God to Christianize the American Negro. From such a study a new light of hope would come with the knowledge of how much the Negro Churches themselves have done and are doing for the redemption of their own race. But this study cannot at present be made intelligently because of the lack of such records in usable form. In any effort to gather the facts concerning the education and evangelization of the Negro one must face a situation none the less difficult to deal with because of its frequent occurrence in the work of the Church of God; that is, the lack of concerted and harmonious action between the different denominations composing the Church. This has

caused much waste of funds and energy in an overlapping that duplicates effort in some localities and in some departments, and leaves others neglected; and, worse still, it has engendered a harmful rivalry between the denominations.

Dawn of a Better Day

That we have reached the dawn of a better day is clearly manifest. The spirit of unity and coöperation is in the air, and great Church organizations are putting aside distrust, division, and rivalry, and are drawing closer together, saying: "We be brethren, the sons of one Father, and must go about our Father's business, loving one another even as he hath loved us." One great step in this direction was the recent organization of the Home Missions Council, a federation of Home Mission Boards, having for its purpose the unification of the work of the Churches represented in it, or their harmonious coöperation in that work.

Commission on Comity

The first duty of the Council was the appointment of a committee or commission on comity. This committee should give its immediate consideration to the work where its offices are most needed—missionary work for the Negroes. At present the mis-

sion boards are each doing its Negro work as if it alone was in the field, knowing little or nothing of what others are doing, with the results as above stated. To these boards should be issued by the Council blanks upon which to tabulate in clear, explicit statements the locality, extent, character and cost of its work for the Negro; giving the date of establishing the work, the amount of money expended since that time, and value of property accumulated. With this should go also an account of the methods used, frankly stating their success or failure along different lines. These reports should be carefully considered by the committee, summarized, and tabulated as a whole, so that a clear view may be obtained by each denomination of the work of the others and of the joint work of the Church of God, of which they are now in hurtful ignorance. To this summing up of the work of the Church the committee should be prepared to add similar statistics of the educational work for the Negro of every kind that has been done, and is being done, by the national and state governments; also of the large gifts made to this work by philanthropists outside of Church channels.

Advantages of Coöperation

The submission of this matter to the Council presupposes a desire to profit by the information thus gathered in the future operations of the boards. If this has the hoped-for result, the work and claims of each Church being weighed and properly considered by the council as to locality, character, and success, the outcome will be the acceptance by each of its rightful place and in its doing its best where it is most needed. Then such questions as these will have a reasonable answer: Why should one small city have three rival institutions for Negro youth, while other cities and large rural districts are left without one? Would not one or two well-conducted, well-equipped normal schools in a State be better than tacking on a "normal department" to many academies that can scarcely maintain their academic course? When the great need of the large mass of the race can be met only by the public school system of the State, for which there may be insufficient funds, does not that seem a better direction for philanthropic gifts than for them to be used in inaugurating new enterprises for the benefit of a few who can have their need supplied else-

where? Might it not be wise for some institutions to give up their futile efforts to maintain a college department and whatever false glory that name has given them, and to adopt the more honest name and purpose of an academy or high school? Their loss would be only a seeming one, while there would come from it a real gain to the true college.

Extend and Strengthen Work

The effect of mutual knowledge, coupled with the purpose to coöperate, would be to quicken zeal by making it more intelligent, to raise the standard of work by a proper recognition of its quality, and to secure more permanent as well as spiritual results. It would increase and strengthen the best things, and lead to the abandonment of that which is not worth while. Better one good thing well done than many indifferent things half done. The advice of Poor Richard is good in missionary work as well as elsewhere: "Learn what you can't do, and cease trying; learn what you can do, and do it with all your might."

Comity among Negro Churches

Not only should the white Churches work under rules of comity in their missionary efforts for the Negroes, but the Negroes as individuals and as Churches should recog-

Jubilee Club, St. Paul Normal and Industrial School, Lawrenceville, Virginia

Students, Bishop Payne Divinity School, Petersburg, Virginia

nize the wisdom of this, and unite with them in hastening the day of their deliverance from those things which have held them back from their highest and best. In his time of weakness, ignorance, and bitter need, the Negro has had the strength and wisdom of others to support and guide him. He has had the hand of benevolence overflowing with gifts constantly extended to him, but he must not linger at the "Beautiful Gate" of charity; he must heed as a clarion voice in the soul the command, "In the name of Jesus Christ, arise and walk!" He must stand and walk on his own feet and earn his right to a place not only in the life and work of this world but in the kingdom of God, taking for his watchword, "Saved to serve." Yes, saved to serve his own day and generation and to make it possible for those who follow to live more truly and nobly. Many men and women among them are consecrating their lives to this saving work for their race, and still more are giving to it liberally, not only of their abundance, but out of their poverty.

What is the Next Step?

It is well to pause, before we close this record of the evolution of the Negro race,

and consider what shall be the next onward step toward his full development in Christian life. What needs to be done in the lines of work begun, and what new efforts should be put forth?

Need of the Ministry

That there is a great need of improvement in the Negro ministry is an evident fact. To simply say, "they must be better educated," is an easy way to escape the question. Education for the Negro preacher means as much as it does for the white man; but it is well known that the fact of a preacher's being well educated does not necessarily give him success in dealing with the ignorant mass of the people. The education of the Negro preacher, especially the man who is to be a pastor, must be of such a character as will keep him in close sympathetic touch with the natural life of the people, so that he will know how to "lead on gently" these "little ones" of God's kingdom. Knowing their trials, temptations, ignorance, superstition, and sins, he should use a language that they can understand, in order to administer comfort and to strengthen, teach, and rebuke without driving them away by an assumption of su-

periority. He should be endued with the Spirit and by wisdom spiritually received so present the love and purity of the gospel and its rewards, both here and hereafter, that if the emotional member must shout it may be the heart's true expression, based upon knowledge of the truth. He also needs to know how to discipline his flock and deal with flagrant sins impartially and justly, manifesting hatred of sin even while loving the sinner. And his life must exemplify his teaching.

Right Kind of Education

It is not simply education that is needed, but education of the right kind. He must not only know books, but he must know the people. He must not only know the Bible, but he must know how to use it as the sword of the Spirit, a light to the feet, a message of comfort. He must live a righteous life, above reproach. He should have business sense, social tact, patience, perseverance, courageous hope, and, above all, unfailing love. This is the ideal pastor. Yes, and it ought to be the standard toward which all pastors should aim. The ideal Negro preacher should have all those qualities of head and heart that the priestly office requires of any other race,

for he, as all who fill the sacred office, stands as an ambassador of God before his people and as an example for their lives.

Preachers are Being Raised Up

Where are such men to be found? God is able to raise up Negro men, is raising them up, " called to be apostles " to their race, even as he has done at other times for other peoples, and often where and when they were least expected. But it remains for those who pray for such " wise shepherds " to make them ready to feed and care for the flock. The men who are at the head of their educational institutions and theological seminaries need to pray also for themselves, that God may help them to a better understanding of the Negro race and its need, and may give them wisdom to teach their pastors how to meet it.

Evangelists Needed

Outside the regular pastorate there is another factor of power at work in the Church—the Negro evangelists. Some of these are of good and some of indifferent quality; some are responsible to the Church for the character of work done, others are responsible only to themselves for their work and its results. To enforce that which is good and hinder that which is bad, there should be missionary evangel-

ists prepared for the work and appointed to it by mission boards to whom they will be responsible and from whom they will receive as far as necessary their support.

Work of Evangelists

These evangelists should be something more than " heralds " of the gospel, or exhorters to sinners; they should not pass hastily from one ignorant church to another, leaving their converts to slip back for lack of instruction in the truth which they have accepted. They should be not only spiritual men whose lives are above reproach, but men well trained in the Scriptural requirements of righteous living, and be able to teach its ethics plainly and frankly as a rule for the daily life. Besides the preaching services they should hold simple Bible readings, and before leaving a community they ought to organize Bible study classes in the church, giving their leaders very practical instructions as to how to continue the work and directing them to the proper helps in their study. There were evangelists of power among the Negroes in the olden times, such as " Black Harry " and many others; and who that has heard the Bible readings of Amanda Smith can doubt that there exist

to-day men and women among them who are not only "fervent in spirit," but are able to teach the deep things of the Spirit, and from them, righteous living.

Extension to Rural Sections

These evangelistic efforts coupled with Bible study should be extended into the rural districts, where they are greatly needed far more than in the cities, there they would be of great value to the ignorant masses who can never have the advantage of much if any Bible instruction in the schools. The pastors would be greatly helped by these evangelists in their future work, if they are the men that they should be to have charge of churches.

Plantation Missions

We have seen how in the past a great work for the Negro was done through what was called "plantation missions." Eliminate the fact of bond slavery and on many large cotton, sugar, and rice plantations to-day many conditions may be found similar to those of the past, owing to the poverty and ignorance of large numbers of farm laborers and their families. These people need a work done for them somewhat similar to that which was done for their ancestors. They are too ignorant to know their own needs, and if they knew

Women's Bible Training Class, Howe Institute,
Memphis, Tennessee

St. Mark's Chapel, Wilson, North Carolina

them they are too poor to supply them, as they cannot pay the salaries of the right kind of preachers nor build decent places of worship. Although some work is being done on plantations, the Church of to-day should meet this opportunity as generously as it was met by the Church and the masters in the past. Let the wisdom and money of mission boards of white and colored Churches unite in establishing plantation missions by building neat, plain churches where they are needed and by paying the salaries of missionary workers, men and women, who are consecrated and qualified. Put circuits of several plantations each in charge of men who cannot only preach on the Sabbath but teach Bible classes and do true, instructive pastoral visiting, and a great change for the better would be manifest in a few years.

Work for Deaconesses and Bible Readers

Here, too, is a large opportunity for the colored deaconess or Bible reader to visit and work in the home, to uplift and guide the women and girls as no man can. She could also hold mothers' meetings, teach sewing schools and Bible classes, and in many respects prove an angel of mercy as well as a teacher of righteousness on many

a plantation in the "back country." Ought not the large number of Church schools to furnish the women suited to such work, and might not the money be obtained for the specific training which they would need?

City Missions

The Negro life in the city presents the same extremes that are to be found in the white urban population. There are the richest, best educated, most refined representatives of the race, who have good churches and good homes and are not in any way to be considered as objects of missionary effort. In fact, it is through this class that much of the city missionary work of the future should be done for the redemption of the Negro slums. The sad conditions existing in these wretched quarters do not differ greatly from those existing in slums inhabited by white people.

Methods

The kind of work done successfully in the Negro slum and the methods used do not vary materially from those that have been successfully employed for the same class of people of other races. The Christian settlement and institutional church, with all the various forms of service for which they stand, would be very effective

if properly managed and sustained in both Northern and Southern cities.

Present Opportunity

Possibly their influence upon the Negro would be more effective than upon any other people, for the Negro, even in the slums, has not yet become alienated from the Church nor has he given up Church attendance, as is the case with the denizens of foreign slums unless they are Roman Catholics. The Church is still the center of his social as well as religious life, and he is willing to receive from it instruction and direction. The Negro slum is ready for the installation of such work in the midst of its population, and the Churches should not lose to-day's opportunity to reach the hundreds of thousands there who through disease, ignorance, and sin are sinking lower and lower in the scale of life. "Out of the depths" they are crying to the Church of God and in the name of God the Church should go to their deliverance.

Kind of Workers

The methods of accomplishing this work must, of course, be fitted to the locality, its conditions, and its needs. It will be necessary that the missionary be a friend, freely admitted into the home, if the home, where the need is greatest, is to be bene-

fited. Admission usually is not difficult with this impulsive, affectionate, and in many respects unreserved race. Once convince them that their good is desired, by going about the work kindly and patiently with consideration for their feelings, and their confidence is gained and their coöperation secured. Consecrated, trained, colored men and women can do more effective missionary work among their own people than can those of another race.

Day Nurseries and Kindergartens

Day nurseries and kindergartens are valuable features of institutional work for the children of a race where the mother is so frequently the breadwinner and away from home. They furnish the opportunity of impressing moral precepts and religious truths upon the child at its most impressionable age, and of forming habits for them of physical cleanliness. They also make possible the instruction of the mothers in the care of children and in maintaining sanitary conditions in their homes, the lack of which causes infant mortality, alarmingly great among Negroes.

Sewing Classes, Cooking Schools, and Clubs

Sewing classes for girls (giving them the garments made by themselves) lead

to the better making and repairing of comfortable clothing, rather than the purchase of ragged, second-hand finery for which so much of their money is wasted. Kitchen-garden classes have been found especially interesting and helpful to half-grown girls because this objective teaching appeals to them. Cooking schools for older girls and women should give plain, practical instruction as to the character of foods and their preparation in accordance with what their condition makes possible. Premiums given for well-prepared simple dishes would have a good effect by inciting to ambitious effort. The result of such instruction would be a healthier home for the housekeeper and more remunerative employment for those who go out to service. Clubs for men, women, boys, and girls all have their beneficial results here as elsewhere. Playgrounds, miniature farming and truck-gardening, gymnasium with bathing facilities, well conducted and with proper instruction present most desirable preventive missionary work that is both destructive of evil and constructive of good.

No missionary work for the Negro can

Missionary Physicians

be fully successful that does not consider his physical condition and seek to alleviate his sufferings from preventive diseases by teaching sanitation in the home, personal cleanliness and chastity of habit, freedom from superstitious practises, and the rejection of quacks and their nostrums. Of course poverty and ignorance will present obstacles to such work with the Negro as with the lower classes of other races, but these can be at least partly overcome by the use of right methods and by patience. To the foreign field the Church sends missionary physicians as well as teachers and evangelists, and the same plan should be used in the home mission work of the Church. There is no phase of home missions where this threefold work is more needed than among the Negroes. The trained Christian Negro as a missionary physician would be found invaluable in the slums of the cities, in mining camps, on plantations, and wherever the Negroes are congregated.

Deaconesses and Trained Nurses

In the home and domestic life lies the largest opportunity for the missionary doctor as well as pastor. The colored deaconess and trained nurse also have here

a great and effectual door waiting wide open for their Christ-like ministry to the sorrowing, the suffering, and the erring. Many aching hearts among the poor, hard-working colored women, cowering under almost insupportable burdens, are awaiting the word of sympathy and hope to save them from despair and sin. Many there are, too, who must suffer and die and see their loved ones suffer and die because they are ignorant of those things that relate to health and the care of the sick, knowledge that a nurse could impart. There are many young girls and older women whom the hand and prayer of the deaconess might keep from the path of sin, or lead back if their feet have already strayed.

Who will do this work?

From whence are the workers for this the greatest home mission enterprise to come? Where else but from the Church schools and colleges for Negroes now being maintained largely by the Home Mission Boards. If the principals and teachers of these institutions are truly missionary in spirit, as they should be and as many of them are, they will instil the same spirit into their pupils and lead them to conse-

crate their lives to the saving and uplifting of their people.

Knowledge of Spiritual Truth and Ethics

In all the schools there should be a regular thorough study of the Bible of such a character as will not only give literary, historical, and geographical information, but a knowledge of its spiritual truths and ethical lessons. The Bible so taught will not only be "a savor of life unto life" to the pupils, but make them men and women "prepared unto every good word and work," when they go back to their homes to be teachers in the Sunday-schools and Bible study circles and to become missionaries. It will give a rock basis on which men and women may build their professional education, whether it be as preacher, teacher, physician, deaconess, or nurse. It will be as grappling-irons holding the business man to honest dealings. It will be a strong wall around the Negro home and a shield to the virtue of woman. "My word . . . shall not return unto me void, . . . but it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it," is God's promise.

Whites Must Continue to Help

While much of this missionary work can best be done by the Negroes for their own people now, and the promise is bright for

still more to be done by them in the future, with their fuller training, the time has not yet come for the white race to cease its help; nor will it come until we have done still more to develop this "backward race," which by a strange providence has been placed in the reach of our helping hand. There rests upon us the debt always due from the strong to the weak. White mission boards and white philanthropists North and South must continue yet longer to give to and guide the work of educating and Christianizing "our brother in black." At the same time they must be taught that self-help is the best help, and be encouraged and stimulated to continued and larger efforts for their own race.

Work of Southern Men and Women

In the annals of the Church and philanthropy not much recognition has been given to the purely local work which has been done and is being done by Southern men and women to aid the Negro along every line of his progress. Possibly this is because they have not exploited this work, but have set it down to the score of individual love and personal interest rather than made a church record of it. It would be difficult to find a Negro church, school,

orphanage, hospital, or any other institution projected by them to which Southern white people have not contributed by assisting either in its building or maintenance. There is a continued outflow to them of benevolence in various forms from the white home church societies and public charities.

Aid of White Ministry

In many Southern cities the white ministry is aiding the colored ministry in presenting the gospel in their pulpits whenever opportunity offers, and such opportunities are not rare. In many instances they give practical and valuable aid to pastors in their studies and preparation of sermons, with wholesome advice as to church methods and discipline. More of this work perhaps should be done, but those who understand fully the present situation will appreciate the many difficulties in the way. Here, too, it is to be hoped that the future holds many possibilities of brotherly help not now existing.

Local Work for Laymen and Women

Christian laymen and women also have a large local opportunity to help the colored people by teaching Sunday afternoon Bible classes, and in aiding them to plan and conduct various lines of work for so-

cial and religious betterment, nor have they been neglectful of this opportunity. Large classes are being taught in the churches, and smaller bands of Sunday-school teachers and Christian workers are being instructed in private homes. There is also a great volume of personal Christian work and industrial training done for those who come into homes as domestic servants.

Opportunity of South

That Southern white Christians ought to do much more in these lines is undoubtedly true of them, as of those who have the same opportunity in other sections for other races. They know, though others may not, how truly and nobly their parents worked for the civilizing and Christianizing of the Negro slaves. The providence of God continues to entrust the fate of the Negro to the South. The South cannot escape the trust if it would; it should not want to escape it if it could. A large number of its people are trying to fulfil nobly their duty to the Negro of to-day amid many hindrances. In doing this there will come a better knowledge, each of the other, on the best side, and a bettering of each other, because this Christly connection in

Christian work will bring closer together those of both races who truly love their Lord.

Hope Ahead

The presence of two great races in our land, living a close yet divided existence, presents a unique situation in the history of the world. That there should be antagonism and prejudice one toward the other is natural, since by nature they belong to the two divisions of the human family most diverse in racial qualities and traditions. That there should be so little conflict and so much personal kindliness is the marvel of those who look upon the situation from the outside. The spirit of helpfulness in the stronger race has been demonstrated by unnumbered deeds of active benevolence. These have been acknowledged by the less developed race with grateful appreciation. Satisfactory results for the latter are manifested in the fruits of industrial advancement, growing patriotism, mental activity, and a broader Christianity, and through and by it all there is a development of power from within, leading to a self-dependence and self-reliance that will require less and less from without. This gain for the one does

not mean loss for the other, but additional gain. There have been many places along the way which they have traveled together where an Ebenezer might have been set up, proclaiming to the world, " Hitherto hath Jehovah helped us."

No Solution Offered

What is known as the Negro problem has been in the minds of the readers of this book as they scanned its every chapter. No attempt has been made to solve that problem, nor can any solution that has ever been offered be accepted as of value. It must be left to the prophets and statesmen yet to arise in both races who, with an all-wise, all-loving Heavenly Father, must work together to accomplish his divine will for the race.

The Color Line

That there is a serious problem none can deny. Every race has its problems of existence and development, as has every individual life in all its relations and efforts, and no race, as no man, liveth to itself or for itself alone. No real problem is simple, and in its complexity it should be fairly estimated from every side. It must be remembered that the Negro problem is the Southern white man's problem as well, and the latter has rights to be considered

as well as the former—rights that pertain to the man as an individual and also to his race life.

Involves Many Questions

But the Negro problem involves much more than the color line. It presents anew the old questions of evangelization and education, labor and capital, poverty and crime, that are clamoring for answer all over the world. When these problems have received a just and righteous solution, not much of the Negro problem will be left to solve.

Justice to Both Races Demanded

Whatever the problem that exists, it involves both races at the North and at the South, and its solution cannot be accomplished by one race. It must be a dual work, not done separately but unitedly, with mutual trust and effort. It will require love and sacrifice from both, and also truth and justice from both. It will demand the highest, sanest thought of the trained and developed intellect of the two races to grasp and conjointly master the situation with all its complex conditions. It will require all the heroic courage and martyr faith of which both races are capable to struggle and faint not until the victory shall come, as come it surely will.

The Lord Reigneth

How any great national or religious problem is to be worked out through the years, God who works in us and through us alone knows. But that he has worked hitherto and is still working through us to accomplish his will for both races is manifest. The great processes by which it is to come are already in motion and their momentum is increasing. The future is hidden from us, but faith sees beyond the veil and triumphantly cries, "The Lord our God, the Almighty reigneth." Not by chance but by his hand the world was made, and those that dwell upon it. By his hand does he sustain and guide the sun in its course, and by his hand the life of humanity in its development is directed step by step ever toward himself. All history proves this to be true in the past, and the God-implanted aspirations within us demand its truth for the future. This truth has in it the very essence of God's nature, and is too broad and deep to be restricted to one world in his universe, far less to one race in our world. God's truth means a justice to all that will not brook that any race be counted out of the great law of love which is over all for the good of all.

A Vision

I stood at an open window and looked upon an extended landscape. The summer sky was overspread with heavy clouds that cast dark shadows on all around me, making nature's beauty dim. But looking out beyond I saw far ahead the sunshine lying golden on a distant mountain. Watching with glad expectancy, I saw the clouds with their shadows gradually rolling back, and the sunlit space widening and drawing ever nearer and nearer, until at last the whole land was flooded with its radiance. The sun looked down upon me—the clouds had passed away.

"Wait Thou for Jehovah"

Courage, doubting heart! Hope on, trusting heart, whether thou beatest in a white or black breast! The clouds have hung low, they still overshadow us in the present; but behind the clouds the Sun of Righteousness has light for the world. The joy of his redeeming presence draweth ever nearer, the clouds are rolling away, for with him there is light and life forevermore. "Wait for Jehovah: be strong, and let thy heart take courage; yea, wait thou for Jehovah."

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER VIII

AIM: TO REALIZE THE PRESENT NEEDS AND OPPORTUNITY FOR CHRISTIAN SERVICE AMONG THE NEGROES

1.* Contrast the social and religious life of the Negro in Africa and the United States to-day.
2. Has his experience in this country been a help to him?
3.* Has he made any contribution to the social and industrial life of our country? Discuss fully.
4. Does the United States need the Negro, and why?
5. Estimate the progress that the Negro has made, industrially, socially and religiously.
6. What help in the upward path has the Negro had that the Anglo-Saxon did not have?
7. Do you believe the Negro as a race is capable of still further progress, and why?
8. In what directions and where do you consider the greatest opportunity for progress?
9.* What types of schools would you recommend, and by what agencies should they be directed?
10. What kind of leaders are most needed?
11. By whom are these leaders to be trained?
12. What types of religious leaders are most needed?
13. Where do you think there is the greatest religious need at the present time?
14. Are the needs among the Negroes in our cities any greater than among the poor of other races?
15.* Are our obligations any greater to the Negro than to the aliens? Give reasons.
16.* Upon whom does the responsibility for missions to Negroes rest most heavily, and why?

17.* Do you know of any greater home mission opportunity, in population, and in proximity?
18. Do you know of any more responsive people than the Negroes?
19. What is your personal responsibility?

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

HYMN

O li'l lamb out in de col',
De Mastah call you to de fol',
O li'l lamb!
He hyeah you bleatin' on de hill;
Come hyeah an' keep yo' mou'ning still,
O li'l lamb!

De Mastah sen' de shepud fo'f;
He wandah souf, he wandah no'f,
O li'l lamb!
He wandah eas', he wandah wes';
De win' a-wrenchin' at his breas',
O li'l lamb!

Oh, tell de shepud whaih you hide;
He want you walkin' by his side,
O li'l lamb!
He know you weak, he know you so';
But come, don' stay away no mo',
O li'l lamb!

An af'ah while de lamb he hyeah
De shepud's voice a-callin' cleah—
Sweet li'l lamb!
He answah f'om de brambles thick,
" O Shepud, I's a-comin' quick "—
O li'l lamb!

—*Paul Lawrence Dunbar*

From *Lyrics of the Hearthstone.*

APPENDIX B

NEGRO MELODIES[1]

They believed in God as the maker and ruler of all things and sang:

"He is King of kings;
He is Lord of lords;
No man works like him."

His omnipresence and close knowledge of our daily lives was expressed in:

"Oh, he sees all you do,
He hears all you say."

They believed in Jesus as the atoning Son of God, and sang:

"Ever see such a man as God?
He gave up his Son for to come an' die,
Gave up his Son for to come an' die,
Just to save my soul from a burning fire."

They saluted him as their King:

"Reign, er reign, er reign, my Savior,
Reign, Mass' Jesus, er reign."

They expressed their deep love as they sang:

"Oh, when I come to die,
Give me Jesus, give me Jesus, give me Jesus,
You may have all the world, but give me Jesus."

With voices trembling with unsimulated grief, they sang of his death:

[1] The author is indebted to Proctor, *Southern Workman*, November, 1907, for some suggestions on these melodies.

"Were you there when they crucified my Lord?
Were you there when they nailed him to a tree?
Oh, sometimes it causes me to tremble, tremble, tremble."

They believed in the Holy Spirit. No one could be a Christian without the "witness of the Spirit"; no one could preach without a revelation of the Spirit; no meeting could be successful without an outpouring of the Spirit clearly manifested. They sang:

"When Peter was preachin' at Pentecost,
He was filled with the Holy Ghost,"

and again:

"If you want to ketch that heavenly breeze,
Go down in the valley on yer knees.
Go bow your knees upon de groun'
An' ax de Lord ter turn yer roun'."

At the height of a camp-meeting sermon their song leader will sing out:

"Oh, I feel de Spirit a-movin'."

and the audience will respond:

"Don't get weary,
Dar's a great camp-meetin' in de Promus Lan'."

They believed in repentance for sin and forgiveness in response to confession. Could a more pathetic expression be given of the loneliness of a soul that feels cut off by sin from God than in the song, "I couldn't hear nobody pray"?

Longing to grow in grace in seeing the inch worm

measuring its way along slowly on the ground, some poet-moralist saw it as a symbol of Christian growth:

"'Twas inch by inch I sought the Lord,
Jesus will come by and by,
An' inch by inch he blessed my soul,
Jesus will come by and by.

CHORUS:

Keep a inchin' along, keep a inchin' along,
Jesus will come by and by,
Keep a inchin' along like the poor inch worm,
Jesus will come by and by."

They believed in and sang of the practical Christian virtues:

"Go read the fifth of Matthew,
An' read the chapter through;
It is a guide for Christians,
An' it tells 'em what ter do."

Again:

"You say you're aimin' fer de skies;
Why don't you stop yer tellin' lies?
You say de Lord has set you free;
Why don't you let yer neighbor be?"

Again:

"Watch that sun, how steady she come,
Don't let her ketch ye wid yer work undone."

They wanted and prayed to be holy, and knew it must be through love:

"Oh, make a-me holy, holy, I do love, I do love;
Make a-me holy, holy, I do love, I do love de Lord."

They believed in heaven, and with exulting joy in the blessed life that would be their portion, they expressed their determined resolve to get there:

"Let my steps be many er few,
By an' by, by an' by;
I mean ter keep heaven in view,
By an' by, by an' by.

"Oh, when the storms of life are over,
We shall anchor in the harbor,
We will praise our God forever,
By an' by, by an' by."

They triumphed over "Jordan's stream, so chilly an' cole," when they sang:

"I looked over Jordan, an' what did I see,
Comin' fer ter carry me home?
A band of angels, comin' after me,
Comin' fer ter carry me home.

CHORUS:

Swing low, sweet chariot,
Comin' fer ter carry me home."

Within the "pearly gates" of the heavenly city they will "lay down my heavy load," and walk "de golden streets," "all robed in white," meeting with sainted fathers, mothers, sisters and brothers, whom the "pale horse an' rider have taken away," and with whom they will dwell in "de manshuns in de skies."

They felt a keen sense of pleasure in the defeat their redemption brings to Satan, whom they described as a "liar and a conjurer too":

"Ol' Satan's mad an' I am glad;
That's what Satan's a-grumblin' about;

He missed that soul he thought he had,
That's what Satan's a-grumblin' about."

They accepted the great commission to deliver the gospel message to others:

"I'll take my gospel trumpet,
An' I'll begin to blow,
An' if my Savior helps me
I'll blow wherever I go."

They exhorted others:

"Go an' tell everybody,
Yes, Jesus is risen from the dead."

The sinner is plead with in their revival meetings:

"Sinner, please don't let this harvest pass,
An' die an' lose your soul at las'."

He is encouraged to come to Jesus:

"Come on, mourner, make a bound,
De Lord will meet you on half-way ground."

He is warned of the terrible judgment day lest he should be among those that cry out:

"Rocks an' mountains, please fall on me."

They believed in the angels, especially "Gabriel and his trumpet," and the "angel band" that carried them to heaven on wings "tipped with gold." Their songs also are filled with references to Bible incidents and characters that testify to their acquaintance with the Word of God and also to their ability to draw practical lessons from it. Noah and the ark prefigure salvation and safety in the Church. Moses, chosen by God to lead his people out of bondage, is an especial favorite, and they claimed the deliverance of the Israelites as a promise of their own liberation;

"Our bondage 'll have an end by an' by.
Jehovah rules de tide an' de water he'll divide,
Oh, de way he'll open wide,
By an' by, by an' by."

"Little David," who played on his harp and "killed Goliath," is emblematic of the Christian's conquest over sin; as is also "Joshua the son of Nun," who "never would quit till the work was done." Jonah is used as a warning to those who refuse to preach when called. Daniel, cast in the lions' den on account of his praying habit and delivered by the Lord, was a familiar subject in their preaching, and of him they sang:

"Dan'l wuz a prayin' man;
He pray three times er day;
De Lord he hist de winder
Fer to hear po' Dan'l pray."

They sympathized with "weepin' Mary" and "doubtin' Thomas," and alluded to all the apostles by name. John and his apocalyptic visions were of the deepest interest to them and they exhort him:

"Tell all the world, John,
'I know de odder world's not like this'."

It is needless to say that with the educated classes these melodies are regarded as relics of the past, and that with perhaps a few exceptions they have no place in their religious services of to-day. They use instead the same hymns and gospel songs that are used by white congregations, some of the latter having not as much music or religion as those they have discarded.

APPENDIX C

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No attempt has been made to provide a complete bibliography on the Negro. So many books, pamphlets, and articles have been written that only the most recent relating to the contents of the book are included. The alphabetical order has been adopted so as to avoid discrimination of any kind, as the view-point of Southerner, Northerner, and Negro is presented in the list.

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Chesnutt: The Wife of His Youth. 1899. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., New York. $1.50.

Dunbar: Poems of Cabin and Field. 1899. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $1.50, net.

Dunbar: Lyrics of Lowly Life. 1908. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $1.00, net.

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Stanton: Songs from Dixie Land. 1900. Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis. $1.25.

Weeden: Bandanna Ballads, including "Shadows on the Wall," verses and pictures. Introduction by Joel Chandler Harris. 1899. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $1.00, net.

Weeden: Songs of the Old South. 1900. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $1.50, net.

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Baker: "Negro Race Riot, Atlanta, 1906." *American Magazine,* April, 1907; May, 1907.

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Baker: "The Conflict of the Negro in Dealing with the Race Problem." *American Magazine,* May, 1908.

Baker: "Negroes in the North." *American Magazine,* February, 1908.

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Baker: "Negroes in Politics." *American Magazine,* June, 1908.

Baker: "Power of the Negro in the South." *American Magazine,* July, 1908.

Bonham: "Emigration to Settle the Negro Question." *Education,* April, 1908.

Bousal: "The Negro Soldier in War and Peace." *North American Review,* June 7, 1907.

Bratton: "The Christian South and the Education of the Negro." *Sewanee Review,* July, 1908.

Bumstead: "The Ballot as a Whip." *Independent,* June 11, 1908.

Conant: "Future of the Negro." *Arena,* July, 1908.

Cooley: "Negroes of the Sea Islands." *Outlook,* October 24, 1908.

Fleming: "Jefferson Davis and the Negroes." *Sewanee Magazine,* October, 1908.

Galloway: "The Negro as a Business Man." *World's Work*, June, 1908.

Garner: "Recent Agitation of the Negro in the South." *South Atlantic Quarterly*, June, 1908.

Gilman: "Negroes: A Suggestion on the Problem." *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1908.

Gladden: "The Negro Crisis." *American Magazine*, January, 1907.

Hart: "Outcome of the Southern Race Question." *North American Review*, July, 1908.

Ingersoll: "Negro Plot in New York in 1741." *Green Bag*, February, 1908.

Jelks: "The Acuteness of the Negro Problem; A Suggested Remedy." *North American Review*, February 15, 1907.

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Jones: "A Race in the Making." *Westminster Review*, April, 1907.

Livingstone: "West Indian and United States Negro; A Contrast." *North American Review*, July 19, 1907.

Minor: "Separate Cars for Negroes." *Nation*, August 1, 1907.

Moore: "Negroes in the Army of the Revolution." *Magazine of History*, 1908.

Moton: "Negroes' Uphill Climb." *World's Work*, April, May, August, 1907.

Northern: "The Negro Situation: One Way Out." *World To-Day*, September, 1907.

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"The Negro and Justice." *Independent*, October 17, 1907.

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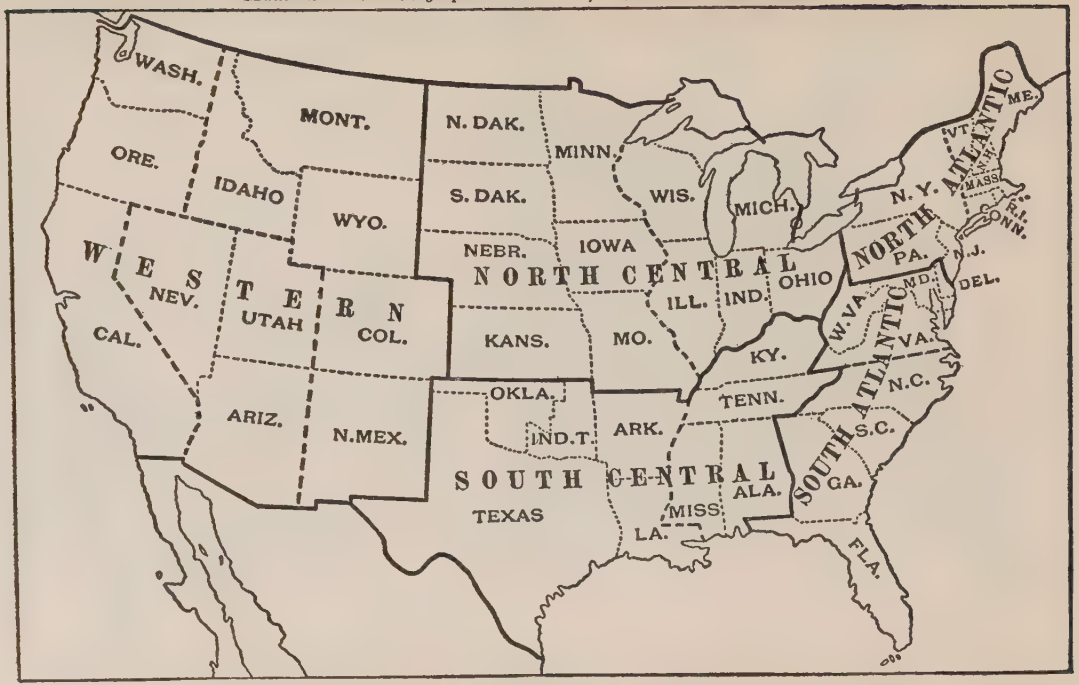
Washington: "Education of the Man Behind the Plow." *Independent*, April 23, 1908.

Wells: "Negro Race Prejudice." *Independent*, February 14, 1907.

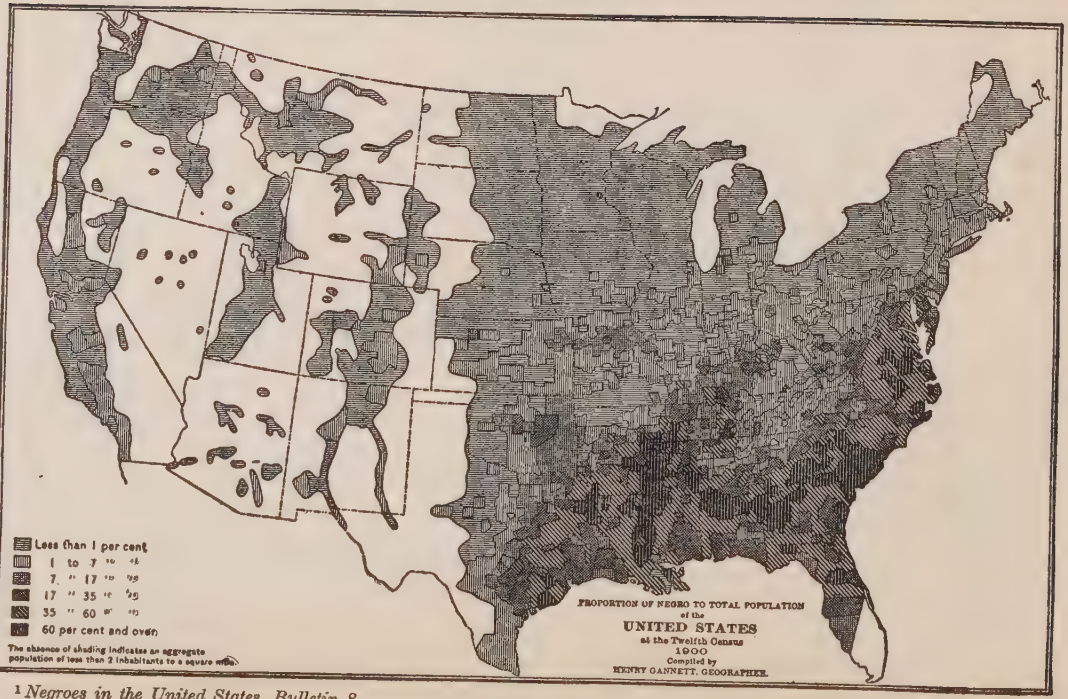
APPENDIX D

Main and Minor Geographic Divisions of Continental United States.[1]



[1] *Negroes in the United States, Bulletin 8.*

APPENDIX E[1]


Less than 1 per cent
1 to 7 " "
7 " 17 " "
17 " 35 " "
35 " 60 " "
60 per cent and over
The absence of shading indicates an aggregate population of less than 2 inhabitants to a square mile.
PROPORTION OF NEGRO TO TOTAL POPULATION
of the
UNITED STATES
at the Twelfth Census
1900
Compiled by
HENRY GANNETT, GEOGRAPHER.

[1] *Negroes in the United States, Bulletin 8.*

APPENDIX F

Negro population, and per cent. Negro in total population, 1900.

STATE OR TERRITORY IN ORDER OF DECREASING PER CENT. NEGRO IN TOTAL POPULATION.	Negro population: 1900.	Per cent. Negro in total population: 1900.
Mississippi	907,630	58.5
South Carolina	782,321	58.4
Louisiana	650,804	47.1
Georgia	1,084,813	46.7
Alabama	827,307	45.2
Florida	230,730	43.7
Virginia	660,722	35.6
North Carolina	624,469	33.0
District of Columbia	86,702	31.1
Arkansas	366,856	28.0
Tennessee	480,243	23.8
Texas	620,722	20.4
Maryland	235,064	19.8
Delaware	30,697	16.6
Kentucky	284,706	13.3
Indian Territory	36,853	9.4
Missouri	161,234	5.2
Oklahoma	18,831	4.7
West Virginia	43,499	4.5
New Jersey	69,844	3.7
Kansas	52,003	3.5
Pennsylvania	156,845	2.5
Indiana	57,505	2.3
Ohio	96,901	2.3
Rhode Island	9,092	2.1
Illinois	85,078	1.8
Connecticut	15,226	1.7
Colorado	8,570	1.6
Arizona	1,848	1.5
New York	99,232	1.4
Massachusetts	31,974	1.1
Wyoming	940	1.0
New Mexico	1,610	0.8
California	11,045	0.7
Michigan	15,816	0.7
Iowa	12,693	0.6
Montana	1,523	0.6
Nebraska	6,269	0.6
Washington	2,514	0.5
Minnesota	4,959	0.3
Nevada	134	0.3
Oregon	1,105	0.3
Idaho	293	0.2
Maine	1,319	0.2
New Hampshire	662	0.2
Utah	672	0.2
Vermont	826	0.2
North Dakota	286	0.1
South Dakota	465	0.1
Wisconsin	2,542	0.1

[1] *Negroes in the United States, Bulletin 8.*

APPENDIX G

Number and per cent. distribution of Negro population of continental United States, by State or Territory of residence, 1900.[1]

STATE OR TERRITORY IN ORDER OF DECREASING NUMBER OF NEGROES	Negro population: 1900.	Per cent. of Negro population of continental United States living in specified State or Territory: 1900.	Total of per cents in column 2, to and including specified State.
Continental United States.	8,833,994	100 0	.....
Georgia	1,034,813	11.7	11.7
Mississippi	907,630	10.3	22.0
Alabama	827,307	9.4	31.4
South Carolina	782,321	8.9	40.3
Virginia	660,722	7.5	47.8
Louisiana	650,804	7.4	55.2
North Carolina	624,469	7.1	62.3
Texas	620,722	7.0	69.3
Tennessee	480,243	5.4	74.7
Arkansas	366,856	4.2	78.9
Kentucky	284,706	3.2	82.1
Maryland	235,064	2.7	84.8
Florida	230,730	2.6	87.4
Missouri	161,234	1.8	89.2
Pennsylvania	156,845	1.8	91.0
New York	99,232	1.1	92.1
Ohio	96,901	1.1	93.2
District of Columbia	86,702	1.0	94.2
Illinois	85,078	1.0	95.2
New Jersey	69,844	0.8	96.0
Indiana	57,505	0 6	96.6
Kansas	52,003	0.6	97.2
West Virginia	43,499	0.5	97.7
Indian Territory	36,853	0.4	98.1
Massachusetts	31,974	0.4	98.5
Delaware	30,697	0.3	98.8
Oklahoma	18,831	0.2	99.0
Michigan	15,816	0.2	99.2
Connecticut	15,226	0.2	99.4
Iowa	12,693	0.1	99.5
California	11,045	0.1	99.6
Rhode Island	9,092	0.1	99.7
Colorado	8,570	0.1	99.8
Nebraska	6,269	0.1	99.9
Minnesota	4,959	0.1	100.0
Wisconsin	2,542	(2)	100.0
Washington	2,514	(2)	100.0
Arizona	1,848	(2)	100.0
New Mexico	1,610	(2)	100.0
Montana	1,523	(2)	100.0
Maine	1,319	(2)	100.0
Oregon	1,105	(2)	100.0
Wyoming	940	(2)	100.0
Vermont	826	(2)	100.0
Utah	672	(2)	100.0
New Hampshire	662	(2)	100.0
South Dakota	465	(2)	100.0
Idaho	293	(2)	100.0
North Dakota	286	(2)	100.0
Nevada	134	(2)	100.0

[1] *Negroes in the United States, Bulletin 8.*
[2] Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

APPENDIX H

Total population, Negro population, per cent. Negro, and per cent. distribution, for physiographic divisions, 1900.[1]

PHYSIOGRAPHIC DIVISION.	1900			
	Total population.	Negro population.	Per cent. Negro in total population.	Per cent. of the Negro population of continental United States living in specified division.
Continental United States	75,994,575	8,833,994	11.6	100.0
New England hills	10,260,153	137,553	1.4	1.6
Coast lowlands	1,865,952	795,155	42.6	9.0
Coastal plain (east of Mississippi river)	6,427,635	2,972,269	46.3	33.6
Piedmont region	6,809,103	1,818,732	26.7	20.6
Appalachian valley	4,499,072	236,782	5.3	2.7
Allegheny plateau	6,070,246	189,267	3.1	2.1
Lake region	9,571,215	70,640	0.8	0.8
Interior timbered region	8,129,760	628,371	7.7	7.1
Mississippi alluvial region	1,227,094	771,486	62.9	8.7
Prairie region	13,300,970	466,416	3.5	5.3
Ozark hills	1,203,880	57,478	4.8	0.7
Coastal plain (west of Mississippi river)	1,974,677	654,567	33.2	7.4
Great plains	1,052,719	13,402	1.3	0.2
Rocky Mountain[2]	592,972	4,016	0.7	(2)
Columbian mesas	356,758	1,471	0.4	(2)
Great basin	375,345	881	0.2	(2)
Plateau region	201,669	2,428	1.2	(2)
Pacific valley	995,363	5,409	0.6	0.1
Coast ranges	1,079,992	7,671	0.7	0.1

[1] *Negroes in the United States, Bulletin 8.*
[2] Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

APPENDIX I

STATISTICS SHOWING THE SEXES AND AGES OF NEGRO POPULATION BY STATES AND TERRITORIES[1]

State or Territory.	Male.	Female.	Between 5 and 20 Years.		Males over 21 Years.
			Male.	Female.	
Alabama	409,277	418,070	168,175	170,895	181,568
Arizona	1,363	485	5,465	5,032	9,170
Arkansas	185,342	181,514	72,782	75,778	87,239
California	5,766	5,279	9,035	5,178	54,542
Colorado	4,473	4,097	1,389	1,390	4,092
Connecticut	7,247	7,979	2,005	2,336	5,214
Delaware	15,616	15,081	5,468	5,385	8,426
District of Columbia	38,348	48,354	11,691	14,388	23,505
Florida	120,199	110,531	43,000	44,063	61,639
Georgia	509,869	524,944	208,955	218,812	223,256
Idaho	166	127	1,050	653	3,604
Illinois	45,121	39,957	12,110	12,199	31,247
Indiana	29,701	27,804	9,060	9,431	18,445
Indian Territory	19,147	17,706	18,662	19,043	19,496
Iowa	6,875	5,818	2,053	2,032	4,633
Kansas	26,542	25,461	9,954	9,995	15,234
Kentucky	142,073	142,633	51,576	52,996	74,790
Louisiana	322,664	328,140	129,149	132,555	148,065
Maine	670	649	303	331	807
Maryland	115,617	119,447	41,371	43,603	60,924
Massachusetts	15,591	16,383	4,002	4,398	13,416
Michigan	8,220	7,596	3,547	3,508	7,233
Minnesota	2,836	2,123	2,255	2,188	4,410
Mississippi	453,384	454,246	188,550	191,323	198,647
Missouri	81,206	80,028	27,592	28,252	46,887
Montana	912	611	2,762	2,077	7,058
Nebraska	3,368	2,901	1,573	1,582	3,274
Nevada	82	52	911	785	3,058

New Hampshire	327	335	87	100	339
New Jersey	33,745	36,099	9,193	10,500	22,858
New Mexico	1,023	587	2,947	2,628	4,263
New York	46,618	52,614	12,695	14,913	39,908
North Carolina	303,624	320,845	129,442	133,602	128,315
North Dakota	173	113	1,335	1,261	1,980
Ohio	49,985	46,916	14,508	15,327	31,624
Oklahoma	9,509	9,322	5,737	5,959	7,648
Oregon	677	428	1,932	1,080	13,185
Pennsylvania	79,348	77,497	21,194	23,547	53,757
Rhode Island	4,290	4,802	1,145	1,278	3,143
South Carolina	383,626	398,695	168,771	173,679	152,950
South Dakota	272	193	3,390	3,314	5,328
Tennessee	238,388	241,855	95,006	95,964	112,334
Texas	310,135	310,587	128,015	131,713	137,807
Utah	454	218	636	499	1,967
Vermont	454	372	131	126	329
Virginia	323,459	337,263	132,784	136,375	146,436
Washington	1,589	925	3,236	1,829	11,573
West Virginia	25,167	18,332	7,984	6,850	14,841
Wisconsin	1,418	1,124	1,820	1,915	3,502
Wyoming	631	309	521	372	1,636
Totals	4,386,547	4,447,447	1,177,895	1,823,045	2,221,642

[1] *Negroes in the United States, Bulletin 8.*

APPENDIX J

Per cent. Negro in total population, for the 55 counties having at least 75 per cent. Negro in total population, 1900.[1]

COUNTY IN ORDER OF DECREASING PER CENT. NEGRO.	Per cent. Negro in total population: 1900.	COUNTY IN ORDER OF DECREASING PER CENT. NEGRO.	Per cent. Negro in total population: 1900.
Issaquena, Miss.	94.0	Leon, Fla.	80.4
Tensas, La.	93.5	Wilcox, Ala.	80.4
Madison, La.	92.7	Madison, Miss.	79.8
East Carroll, La.	91.6	Wilkinson, Miss.	79.6
Beaufort, S. C.	90.5	Berkeley, S. C.	78.7
Tunica, Miss.	90.5	Adams, Miss.	78.6
Washington, Miss.	89.7	Phillips, Ark.	78.6
Coahoma, Miss.	88.2	Perry, Ala.	78.5
Leflore, Miss.	88.2	Bossier, La.	78.2
Bolivar, Miss.	88.1	Russell, Ala.	78.1
Sharkey, Miss.	88.1	Claiborne, Miss.	78.0
Concordia, La.	87.4	Holmes, Miss.	77.9
Chicot, Ark.	87.1	Jefferson, Fla.	77.9
Lowndes, Ala.	86.6	Lee, Ark.	77.8
Greene, Ala.	86.3	McIntosh, Ga.	77.7
West Feliciana, La.	86.2	West Baton Rouge, La.	77.1
Lee, Ga.	85.4	Yazoo, Miss.	77.1
Noxubee, Miss.	84.8	Marengo, Ala.	76.9
Crittenden, Ark.	84.6	Quitman, Miss.	76.9
Dallas, Ala.	83.0	Georgetown, S. C.	76.6
Sumter, Ala.	82.7	Morehouse, La.	76.5
Dougherty, Ga.	82.1	Warwick, Va.	76.3
Bullock, Ala.	81.7	Fairfield, S. C.	76.0
Burke, Ga.	81.7	Lowndes, Miss.	75.5
Desha, Ark.	81.7	Hinds, Miss.	75.2
Hale, Ala.	81.7	Houston, Ga.	75.1
Macon, Ala.	81.6	Sunflower, Miss.	75.0
Jefferson, Miss.	81.1		

[1] *Negroes in the United States, Bulletin 8.*

APPENDIX K

Per cent. illiterate in Negro population at least 10 years of age: 1900 and 1890.[1]

STATE OR TERRITORY HAVING AT LEAST 500 NEGROES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN 1900.	PER CENT. ILLITERATE IN NEGRO POPULATION AT LEAST 10 YEARS OF AGE.		Decrease in per cent. illiterate: 1890 to 1900.
	1900	1890	
Louisiana	61.1	72.1	11.0
Alabama	57.4	69.1	11.7
South Carolina	52.8	64.1	11.3
Georgia	52.4	67.3	14.9
Mississippi	49.1	60.8	11.7
North Carolina	47.6	60.1	12.5
Virginia	44.6	57.2	12.6
Arkansas	43.0	53.6	10.6
Indian Territory	42.8	.....	.....
Tennessee	41.6	54.2	12.6
Kentucky	40.1	55.9	15.8
Florida	38.4	50.5	12.1
Texas	38.2	52.5	14.3
Delaware	38.1	49.5	11.4
Maryland	35.1	50.1	15.0
West Virginia	32.3	44.5	12.2
Missouri	28.1	41.7	13.6
Oklahoma	26.0	39.0	13.0
District of Columbia	24.3	35.0	10.7
Indiana	22.6	32.3	9.7
Kansas	22.3	32.8	10.5
New Mexico	19.1	45.8	26.7
Iowa	18.5	26.1	7.6
Illinois	18.1	26.8	8.7
Ohio	17.8	25.4	7.6
New Jersey	17.2	28.1	10.9
Wyoming	17.2	17.8	0.6
Pennsylvania	15.1	23.2	8.1
Vermont	14.6	20.4	5.8
Maine	14.2	15.9	1.7
Rhode Island	14.1	18.1	4.0
California	13.4	26.5	13.1
Colorado	13.0	17.6	4.6
Arizona	12.7	19.2	6.5
New Hampshire	11.9	22.5	10.6
Nebraska	11.8	19.1	7.3
Washington	11.6	17.7	6.1
Connecticut	11.5	15.3	3.8
Montana	11.4	11.0	[2]0.4
Wisconsin	11.4	20.0	8.6
Michigan	10.9	18.9	8.0
New York	10.8	17.1	6.3
Massachusetts	10.7	14.3	3.6
Oregon	8.8	17.1	8.3
Minnesota	7.9	12.1	4.2
Utah	6.3	26.6	20.3

[1] *Negroes in the United States, Bulletin 8.*
[2] Increase.

APPENDIX L

Negro population at least 10 years of age engaged in specific occupations: 1900 *and* 1890.[1]

OCCUPATION.	NEGRO POPULATION AT LEAST 10 YEARS OF AGE ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS.			
	1900	1890	Increase: 1890 to 1900.	
			Number.	Per cent.
Continental United States: All occupations	3,992,337	3,073,164	919,173	29.9
Occupations giving employment to at least 10,000 negroes in 1900	3,807,008	[2]2,917,169	[2]869,095	[2]29.8
Agricultural laborers	1,344,125	1,106,728	237,397	21.5
Farmers, planters, and overseers	757,822	590,666	167,156	28.3
Laborers (not specified)	545,935	349,002	196,933	56.4
Servants and waiters	465,734	401,215	64,519	16.1
Launderers and launderesses	220,104	153,684	66,420	43.2
Draymen, hackmen, teamsters, etc	67,585	43,963	23,622	53.7
Steam railroad employees	55,327	47,548	7,779	16.4
Miners and quarrymen	36,561	19,007	17,554	92.4
Saw and planing mill employees	33,266	17,276	15,990	92.6
Porters and helpers (in stores, etc.)	28,977	11,694	17,283	147.8
Teachers and professors in colleges, etc	21,267	15,100	6,167	40.8
Carpenters and joiners	21,113	22,581	[3]1,468	[3]6.5
Turpentine farmers and laborers	20,744	[4]	.....	.....
Barbers and hairdressers	19,942	17,480	2,462	14.1
Nurses and midwives	19,431	5,213	14,218	272.7
Clergymen	15,528	12,159	3,369	27.7
Tobacco and cigar factory operatives	15,349	15,004	345	2.3
Hostlers	14,496	10,500	3,996	38.1
Masons (brick and stone)	14,386	9,760	4,626	47.4
Dressmakers	12,569	7,586	4,983	65.7
Iron and steel workers	12,327	6,579	5,748	87.4
Seamstresses	11,537	11,846	[3]309	[3]2.6
Janitors and sextons	11,536	5,945	5,591	94.0
Housekeepers and stewards	10,596	9,248	1,348	14.6
Fishermen and oystermen	10,427	10,071	356	3.5
Engineers and firemen (not locomotive)	10,224	6,326	3,898	61.6
Blacksmiths	10,100	10,988	[3]888	[3]8.1
Other occupations	185,329	[5]155,995	[5]50,078	[5]32.1

[1] *Negroes in the United States, Bulletin 8.*

[2] Excludes turpentine farmers and laborers.

[3] Decrease.

[4] Turpentine farmers and laborers were included in "other agricultural pursuits" in 1890.

[5] Includes turpentine farmers and laborers.

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